

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church



MARCH, 1955



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EDITORIALS

**Theological Education in the United States
Seventy Years of Distinguished
Service to the Church**

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**BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL: ONE HUNDRED
YEARS, 1854-1954**

By Edward Rochie Hardy

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**THE BEGINNINGS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH
IN MISSOURI**

By Charles F. Rehkopf

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**THE EPISCOPATE OF HORATIO POTTER (1802-
1887), SIXTH BISHOP OF NEW YORK, 1854-1887**

By George E. DeMille

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**CHRISTIAN VIEWS ON HUMAN LABOR, 1500-1860:
FROM MARTIN LUTHER TO SAMUEL SMILES**

By Joseph F. Fletcher

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**REVIEWS: I. American Church History and
Biography.**

II. English and General Church History.

III. Theology and Philosophy.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY : \$1.25 THE COPY--\$4 THE YEAR

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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PUBLISHED AT 5 PATRICK STREET, NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY, BY AUTHORITY OF GENERAL CONVENTION, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A JOINT COMMISSION OF SAID CONVENTION, AND UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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PUBLICATION AND EDITORIAL OFFICE: 5 Patrick St., New Brunswick, N. J.
Address all subscriptions to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE as above. Four Dollars per year in advance for subscriptions within the U. S. A. Five Dollars per year in advance for foreign subscriptions. Checks should be drawn payable to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

All communications and manuscripts for publication, including books and pamphlets for review, to be addressed as above. The editors are not responsible for the accuracy of the statements of contributors.

Entered as second-class matter September 17, 1905, at the Post Office at New Brunswick, N. J., with additional entry at the Post Office at Richmond, Va., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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of the Protestant Episcopal Church



Vol. XXIV

MARCH, 1955

No. 1



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Editorials

Theological Education in the United States

THE centenary of the Berkeley Divinity School, whose story is ably told elsewhere in this issue by Dr. Edward R. Hardy, its professor of Church History and an associate editor of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, should remind us that the theological seminary is the most important single institution of The Episcopal Church in this country. It is indispensable to the Church's life and growth. We have shown elsewhere that the growth of The Episcopal Church in the "Great Decade" of 1830-40 was principally due to the increase in the number of its clergy:

"The large number of ordinations during the 1830's, double that of the preceding ten years, would have been impossible without the theological seminaries."¹

What is true of The Episcopal Church is true of most of the other Churches in America, including the Jewish Churches. Curiously enough, the best short survey of theological education in the United States comes from a government agency, the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.² One might suppose, in view of the separation of church and state in the United States, that the government of the latter would have neither interest nor concern in theological education. But in this supposition, one would be wrong. It well illustrates how the spheres of church and state often overlap. The Selective Service System requires the Federal Government to look into the matter that it may more accurately determine who are theological students and thus exempt from military service. What is, as far as we know, the most complete study of American theological schools as a group has been published by that agency:

WHERRY, NEAL M.,

Theological School Enrollments, 1937-47, 1947-50; A Survey Study of 561 Recognized Theological Schools. (National Headquarters, Selective Service System, Washington, D. C., August 1950).

The issue of *Higher Education*, to which we are largely indebted for what follows, is devoted to three expositions: Jewish Theological

¹See Walter H. Stowe, "Immigration and the Growth of the Episcopal Church," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XI (1942), p. 359.

²*Higher Education* (Washington, D. C.), Vol. IX, No. 18 (May 15, 1953), pp. 201-216.

Education, Protestant Theological Education, and Roman Catholic Theological Education.

Jewish Theological Education³

JEWISH congregations have functioned in America since 1654. Today, there are about five million Jews in the United States, of whom about one-half are in the metropolitan area of New York—that is, within a thirty-five-mile radius of that city.

"Judaism has about 3,500 congregations in 1,000 communities, and about 4,000 rabbis." These congregations are divided into three main groups: Orthodox, Conservative, and Reformed. Jewish theological seminaries represent these three groupings.

Five Jewish theological institutions are described by Rabbi Siegel. In addition, the director of Selective Service recognizes ten others, or fifteen in all. The total enrollment in fourteen of these fifteen schools, as of 1950, was 2,225, of which number the five principal schools had 1,151 enrolled students in the spring of 1953.

Rabbi Siegel gives an interesting survey of the changing functions of the rabbi from Old Testament days down to the present. Suffice to say here:

"Even today, the rabbi is essentially a teacher. His presence is not technically required for any religious ceremony. The Jewish religion permits any man to officiate at such services provided he has sufficient knowledge. Hence, the rabbi will always remain primarily an expounder and interpreter of Jewish law and tradition. Although the modern need for a professional rabbinate has made it customary for the rabbi to officiate as the leader of the congregation, his primary function is that of teacher, guide, and interpreter."⁴

Protestant Theological Education⁵

AS of 1950, there were 229 Protestant (meaning non-Roman) religious bodies in the United States, which had 162,893 settled pastors, 247,462 congregations, and a membership of 50,074,138.

³This section of *Higher Education*, pp. 202-206, was written by Rabbi Seymour Siegel, adviser to students and teaching fellow in Talmud, in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York City.

⁴*Higher Education*, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

⁵This section of *Higher Education*, pp. 207-210, was written by Oren H. Baker, dean and professor of pastoral theology, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, and executive secretary of the American Association of Theological Schools.

The materialists, humanists, agnostics and freethinkers in our midst must never be allowed to forget that the provision of an educated ministry was a leading motive in the founding of our oldest colleges and universities—Harvard (1636), William and Mary (1693), Yale (1701), Princeton (1746), Columbia (1754), Rutgers (1766); and whatever Benjamin Franklin may have had in mind, the College of Philadelphia (1740), now the University of Pennsylvania, had for over thirty years an Anglican priest, William Smith, as its provost. Moreover, in several of them during the 18th century, "courses in divinity were taught within the pattern of general education," after the manner of English and Continental universities.

The deistic and secularistic atmosphere of most of these colleges at the end of the 18th, and the opening of the 19th, century caused the churches to organize separate theological seminaries.

"During the first quarter of the 19th century, 18 seminaries, representing 11 denominations, were organized, but the period of greatest increase occurred in the third quarter, 1850-75, when 71 new schools appeared, a development paralleling the expansion of the churches toward the West and the post-Civil-War reconstruction. Unfortunately, it cannot be said that the rapid numerical growth of these schools was accompanied by a corresponding improvement in the standards of the education provided."⁶

What is a theological seminary? Dean Baker quotes from a research study of 1934, which defined a theological institution as

"one that offers a course of studies arranged primarily for the training of ministers, and gives at the completion of this course a theological degree, certificate, or diploma."⁷

Under this broad definition, the same study classified theological institutions into four types:

"(1) Independent . . . designated as 'schools, seminaries, and foundations'; (2) post-graduate theological departments, 'schools or seminaries of colleges and universities'; (3) undergraduate theological departments of colleges; and (4) Bible schools.

Types (1) and (2) generally admit only students who have received a bachelor of arts degree or its equivalent; types (3) and (4) accept

⁶*Higher Education*, op. cit., p. 207.

⁷Mark A. May and Others, *The Institutions That Train Ministers*, pp. 3, 4, which is Vol. III of *The Education of American Ministers* (4 vols., New York, 1934).

students who have no such degree, and may even train lay workers in the churches.

In 1918, at Harvard University, the Conference of Theological Seminaries and Colleges of the United States and Canada was organized, and in 1924 and 1934 the Institute of Social and Religious Research sponsored two studies of theological education. The latter of these, *The Education of American Ministers*,⁸ "marked the beginning of an era in theological education." In 1936, the conference changed its name to "The American Association of Theological Schools," and in 1938 issued its first list of accredited schools. The latest list, 1952, contains 73 institutions, five of which are in Canada. As of 1950, the total enrollment of these 73 schools was 14,971.

Wherry's survey for the Selective Service System covered "561 Recognized Theological Schools"; that is, schools which had requested recognition and which are "recognized" by the director of Selective Service. Of this number, 280 Protestant schools reported the number of full-time male students preparing for the ministry in 1950 as totalling 29,316. However, "complete and accurate data on enrollments in Protestant theological institutions are not available."

Dean Baker outlines the standards of an accredited school, discusses the standard curriculum, and lists by states the 68 accredited schools in the United States and the five in Canada.⁹ Concerning current problems, he states:

"Foremost among the problems confronting Protestant theological education in the United States is the diversity of educational standards which prevail . . . A second issue related to the first is the fact that less than half of the ministers serving Protestant churches have had an educational preparation equivalent to college and seminary graduation. A third problem is the economic risk which deters able young men from entering a vocation whose salary level is incommensurate with the quality of service an educated man can give. A few denominations have established minimum salaries, but the majority have not awakened to the significance of this factor in providing a better ministry. Overchurching in small communities further complicates this issue.

In general, it may be said that most of these problems are the result of the Protestant tendency toward variety, competition, and individualism in religion. . . ."

⁸See above, Note #7.

⁹Of the twelve theological seminaries listed in *The Episcopal Church Annual*, 1955, pp. 40-44, seven are accredited by the American Association of Theological Schools. In alphabetical order, abbreviated, they are: Berkeley, Bexley Hall, Cambridge, General, Pacific, Seabury-Western, and Virginia.

Roman Catholic Theological Education¹⁰

ROMAN Catholic theological education is described "as the formal and systematic teaching and study of the truths revealed by God. Its formal and systematic approach to revealed truth distinguishes it from religious education . . ."

Roman Catholic theology in its several branches—dogmatic, sacramental, ascetical, moral, and pastoral—is taught, and, in addition, theological education includes apologetics, the Scriptures, Church history, canon law, and liturgics.

In the United States, 44,685 Catholic clergy (4 Cardinals, 27 Archbishops, 157 Bishops, 38 Abbots, and 44,459 priests) care for the spiritual needs of 29,407,420 Catholics in 15,653 parishes and approximately 6,500 "subparishes" called missions or stations.

The four main duties of a Roman Catholic priest are thus outlined:

(1) To acquire, through prayer, study, and the imitation of Christ, personal holiness, stability of character, and a thorough understanding of God's revealed truths; (2) to lead the people in official worship and prayer mainly by offering the Sacrifice of the Mass; (3) to care for the spiritual needs of the people entrusted to his care by administering the Sacraments, for example, Baptism, Holy Eucharist, and by helping them solve their spiritual problems through prudent counsel based on sound theological principles; (4) to teach God's truths to the people and to help in establishing God's kingdom on earth.

A decree of the Council of Trent in 1563 is the origin of the modern system of seminary education in the Roman Catholic Church, and it "has remained the fundamental law of the Church on the education of priests." Cardinal Borromeo (1538-1584), archbishop of Milan, implemented the decree with a set of regulations "which have been the model for all seminaries since that day."

In 1791, the first Roman Catholic seminary in the United States was established by four Sulpicians under the jurisdiction of the first Roman Catholic bishop in this country, John Carroll of Baltimore, who had been consecrated in England, August 15, 1790.

"The Apostolic Constitution of Pope Pius XI of May 24, 1931 . . . which is known as the *Deus Scientiarum Dominus*, is the standard curriculum for all seminaries throughout the world." Pope Pius XII,

¹⁰This section of *Higher Education*, pp. 211-215, was written by the Rt. Rev. Monsignor James E. O'Connell, rector of St. John's Seminary, Little Rock, Arkansas.

the present pontiff, in three encyclical letters—one in 1947, and two in 1950—has given "sure and positive counsel."

Students for the diocesan priesthood receive their theological training, first, in a *Minor seminary*, in which the "curriculum is high school classical course with emphasis on religion and Latin"; second, in a *Major seminary*, which has a six-year course in philosophy and theology. The training for applicants for membership in religious orders is somewhat different, and need not concern us here.

The growth in the number of Roman Catholic theological seminaries, and of students for the priesthood, is indicated by the following table:

YEAR	Number of Seminaries	Students for Religious Orders	Students for Diocesan Clergy	Total
<i>Minor Seminaries:</i>				
1924.....	91	4,158	4,731	8,889
1950.....	160	7,445	8,312	16,896
<i>Major Seminaries:</i>				
1924.....	79	2,020	3,075	5,095
1950.....	113	3,311	6,115	9,426

"The vast majority of the clergy in nearly all countries receive their education in seminaries, and only at the end of the regular course are some of the best gifted sent to a Catholic university to pursue higher studies. . . . Most postgraduate work in theology is taken either at Catholic University of America or at the ecclesiastical universities in Rome."

A few of the problems in Roman Catholic theological education, as Monsignor O'Connell sees them, are:

- (1) A perfect balance between speculative and applied theology must be maintained lest the American penchant for the practical undermine the fundamental theological principles on which the whole structure of pastoral ministration must rest.
- (2) The spiritual formation of the student's priestly character must be intensified so he will be able to cope with the ever-increasing number of worldly distractions that interfere with the peace and reflection needed for effective prayer.
- (3) Steps must be

taken to secure full accreditation for seminaries from regional accrediting associations so their graduates may be qualified to teach in Catholic high schools. (4) Increased attention must be given to the communication arts so priests may preach and write effectively. (5) Plans must be devised to give students more opportunity for "apprentice-type" experience in the pastoral ministry.

A list of 120 Roman Catholic major seminaries, by states, together with their 1951-52 enrollments, is appended.

Conclusion

SCHOLARS, as a rule, are not trained in the "art of promotion," and this explains in a measure why the great importance of theological education, and of the seminary which is its medium, has not heretofore been impressed upon the churches as thoroughly as it should have been. The laity must be informed on this subject as never before, and a broader basis of support must be laid. There is now, however, the "sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees," and for this, "Laus Deo!"

WALTER H. STOWE.

Seventy Years of Distinguished Service to the Church

THE Morehouse-Gorham Co., founded in August, 1884 and incorporated in January, 1885, is this year, 1954-55, celebrating the seventieth anniversary of those two closely related events. HISTORICAL MAGAZINE tenders its hearty congratulations, best wishes, and sincere appreciation to this unique publishing house for over two generations of distinguished service to the Church.

The first eleven pages of its Christmas 1954 *Catalogue* are devoted to an interesting but "Brief History" of the company. It is worthy of publication as a separate brochure. *The Young Churchman* (begun in 1870) and *The Shepherd's Arms* (begun in 1877) by Linden H. Morehouse I, grandfather of Linden H. Morehouse, II, the company's present president, were periodicals of Christian nurture when such were few and far between. The writer of this editorial was reared on them, as were many others of his generation.

The company, centered in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, during its first half-century, began its expansion in 1935 by opening its bookstore at 14 East 41st Street, New York City. In addition, it now has stores in Chicago and San Francisco.

Of especial interest to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE are the contributions of the Morehouse-Gorham Co. to the study of Church history. A recent letter to us from its vice-president, Clifford P. Morehouse, LL.D., is worth quoting:

FIRST, let me say that I think the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE continues to do a wonderful job in throwing new light on the origins and history of the Church in this country. I am glad to know that the December 1954 issue will carry a catalog of all the articles published since the beginning of the magazine. I am sure this will be a most valuable guide for all who have occasion to do any work in this field.

Second, I want to boast a little bit about the contribution of Morehouse-Gorham Co. in recent years to the same subject. You are, of course, familiar with the Manross' *History of the American Episcopal Church*, which we published originally in 1935 and have revised once or twice. It is still the recognized standard history of the Church in this country.

During the past year, we published the American edition of *A History of the Church in England*, by J. R. H. Moorman, which is already beginning to become widely recognized as the standard short history of the English Church.

Now we have in preparation a book that will supplement both of these entitled *The Episcopal Church in the Twentieth Century*, by the Rev. Canon George E. DeMille. This will subject to close scrutiny the principal events in the American Episcopal Church from approximately 1898 to 1952. While this is too close to the present for the writing of definitive history, it is possible to give a running account which will present a lively picture of some important events, and help to preserve for public use certain facts that are likely to be lost unless they are collected while fairly fresh.

Among these three books, we expect to be able to present a fairly comprehensive picture of Anglicanism from its beginnings in England to the present day in this country. I hope we may be able to advertise the three books together in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE sometime next spring.

Another important project on which we are working in this field is a course on Church History for the Episcopal Church Fellowship Series at the ninth grade (Junior High) level. Plans for this are still in a fluid state, and I should welcome your advice and counsel.

At present we are thinking of basing this course on the three books mentioned above, plus Dr. Dawley's *Chapters in*

Church History. It would be divided into units, with the first one or two on the Universal Church in the first thousand years, then would turn to England for a summary of English Church History; and finally would close with a unit or two on the history of our own Church in this country.

MAY the next seventy years of the Morehouse-Gorham Co. enter in their records a history of distinguished service equal to the past seventy!

WALTER H. STOWE.

The Real Distinction of the Modern Mind

ABOVE all, we have acquired and inherited the historical point of view, which more than anything else is the real distinction of the modern mind."—WILLIAM TEMPLE, late Archbishop of Canterbury, in *Christianity and the State* (London, 1928), p. 27.

The Berkeley Divinity School One Hundred Years 1854-1954

By Edward Rochie Hardy*

I



THIN but genuine thread of continuity connects the Berkeley Divinity School with the great philosopher-missionary whose name it bears. After his two years' stay in America, 1729-1731, George Berkeley was forced to abandon his cherished dream of founding a missionary college in Bermuda. One of his closest American friendships was with Samuel Johnson, then missionary at Stratford, and the leading figure in the Anglican Church in Connecticut. At Johnson's suggestion, Berkeley gave his Rhode Island farm and a collection of books to Yale College, which then and for some years thereafter was the chief source of candidates for the ministry of the Anglican Church in Connecticut.¹

Johnson continued his interest in the training of candidates for the ministry as president of King's College, New York, 1754-1761, and by guiding the studies of individuals after his retirement to Stratford. He refers to his methods in his recommendation of John Tyler to the S. P. G. in 1768; the candidate is one

who after having gone through a course of education at New Haven and been graduated both there and at New York, has diligently followed his studies, in Hebrew and divinity chiefly, above a year here at Stratford, and often read prayers in my

*The Rev. Dr. Hardy is professor of Church History in the Berkeley Divinity School, and associate editor of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*—*Editor's Note*.

¹On Johnson's connection with the Berkeley gift to Yale, see his "Autobiography" in *Samuel Johnson, President of King's College, His Career and Writings*, ed. Herbert and Carol Schneider (New York, 1929) Vol. I, pp. 26-7; also E. E. Beardsley, *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D. D.* (Boston, 1887) pp. 77-81. In 1905, Johnson's great-great-granddaughter, Mrs. John Townsend, presented a souvenir of the Johnson-Berkeley friendship to the Berkeley Divinity School Library: a copy of *Divi Platonis Opera Omnia, Marsilio Ficino Interprete* (Lyons, 1567), inscribed on the cover "George Berkeley," and on the flyleaf "S. Johnsoni Liber ex Dono Rev. D. G. Berkeley Derensis Decani An. Dom. 1730 [added later] postea vero Cloynensis Episcopi."

absence and behaved very exemplarily, now offers the service of his whole life to the venerable Society.²

After the Revolution, Connecticut churchmen felt the need of their own institution for the training of future clergy; this was the primary purpose in the establishment of the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire in 1794.³ It was hoped to raise this to collegiate rank, but nothing could be done in this direction until the Puritan establishment was ended in 1818.

In 1819, Thomas Church Brownell, whose previous career had been more academic than ecclesiastical, became bishop of Connecticut, and the educational needs of the Church had a large place in his interests. During the academic year 1820-21, the infant General Theological Seminary was located in New Haven, with Bishop Brownell as one of its professors. But when General returned to New York in 1821, the collegiate project again occupied the attention of Connecticut churchmen. Washington College (since 1845, Trinity) began its career in 1823, Bishop Brownell serving as its president till 1831.⁴ Since its foundation, Trinity has given an honorable succession of its sons to the ministry of the Church.

The early life of Berkeley's actual founder established various contacts out of which the school was to take its form. Born at Deerfield, Massachusetts, in 1817, John Williams entered Harvard College in 1831. But on turning his thoughts to the ministry of the Episcopal Church, he transferred to Washington College, as it then was, where he graduated in 1835. Under the personal system which still survived, he then read for holy orders under a learned priest, selecting for his theological instructor the Rev. Samuel Farmar Jarvis, son of the second bishop of Connecticut. Dr. Jarvis had just returned from several years in Europe; he taught at Washington from 1835-7, and then became rector of Christ Church, Middletown, buying the house in which he was to live till his death in 1851. Williams thus completed his studies in the same house in which he was to live and teach for nearly fifty years. He also spent some time at the General Seminary, which counts him as a "sometime Student" in the class of 1838. He served as tutor at Washington College from 1837-40, being ordained deacon in 1838. After a visit to England in 1840-41, where he met the leaders of the

²*Career and Writings*, Vol. III, p. 289; see also, reference to students in letter of 1763, p. 274; and Beardsley, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

³See William A. Beardsley, "Episcopal Academy of Connecticut," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XIII (1944), pp. 193-215.

⁴See Arthur Adams, "The Founding of Trinity College," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XIV (1945), pp. 53-65; also, W. A. Beardsley, "Thomas Church Brownell—Third Bishop of Connecticut," in *ibid.*, VI (1937), pp. 350-369.

Oxford Movement, he was ordained priest in 1842 and became assistant to Dr. Jarvis.⁵

Jarvis and Williams resigned together in 1842. After six years as rector of St. George's, Schenectady, New York, John Williams returned to Connecticut in 1848 as president of Trinity. At this time the Church had two organized seminaries, at New York and Alexandria. But there was obviously room for more. Several dioceses which seemed to have the necessary resources had made efforts to start local theological schools; one had actually been begun in Massachusetts some years before. In Ohio, Kenyon College had offered theological as well as literary training since 1823. In a similar manner, President Williams organized a theological department at Trinity in 1849, with the appointment of the Rev. Thomas Winthrop Coit as professor of Church History. Dr. Coit, then 46, was already well known as a scholar and churchman.⁶ President and professor were assisted by the Rev. Abner Jackson of Trinity, later president of Hobart College, and two local rectors, Thomas M. Clark and A. Cleveland Coxe, afterwards bishops of Rhode Island and Western New York respectively. Nor was the theological department merely a private project of the president and the college. A formal announcement was issued in 1851, and in 1852 the theological department received the endorsement of the diocesan convention.⁷

The theological department of Trinity College might well have developed in a relation similar to that of the theological schools of Kenyon and Sewanee. But conditions were changed in 1851 when Dr. Williams became assistant bishop to the now aged Brownell. He soon took over most of the work of the diocese, and in 1853 he resigned his presidency, although he long continued to give some lectures at Trinity. What was to be done with the theological students whom he still wished to direct? In the following spring, gifts from two members of the Middletown parish—\$20,000 from Edward S. Hall, Esq., and \$10,000 from the Rev. William Jarvis⁸—made it possible to provide at once a house for the assistant bishop's residence and a center for his educational activities. The former Jarvis House was secured as a residence

⁵On Williams generally, see W. A. Beardsley, "John Williams, Bishop of Connecticut, 1865-1899," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XIV (1945), pp. 119-150; Arthur Adams, "John Williams," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 272-3; on Jarvis and Williams' relation to him, see Wm. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit* (New York, 1859), pp. 530-35.

⁶On Coit, see G. H. Genzner, "Thomas Winthrop Coit," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, p. 278.

⁷*Berkeley Divinity School, Decennial Anniversary* (Middletown, 1865), p. 7.

⁸*A Historical Sketch of the Parish of the Church of the Holy Trinity* (Middletown, 1887) p. 22.

for the bishop and his students, and on May 3, 1854, the Berkeley Divinity School was chartered by the state of Connecticut. This date is considered as the formal foundation of the school. At the diocesan convention, the bishop announced the intended opening of the school in Middletown, and observed that "it is believed that it will occasion no disadvantage, either to the School or the College, thus to disconnect them."⁹

The Berkeley alumni lists have always included "those persons who have completed their Theological studies in the Theological Department of Trinity College"—three in 1850, three in 1852, twelve in 1853, and two in 1854—while, thanks to those who migrated from Hartford to Middletown in 1854, the first class finished at Middletown in 1855. Bishop Williams announced the intended opening of the school for October 2, 1854. On or about that date, operations began with an opening service in the parish church, when "in this venerable and beautiful town, in a venerable church . . . there gathered at even-tide a little band of worshippers, bishop, priest, and deacon, and people, teachers and pupils; and then and there, with prayer for God's blessing upon it, was the work of the Berkeley Divinity School inaugurated."¹⁰

II

THOUGH a smaller place than it is today, Middletown in some ways was in the 1850's a relatively more important one. Its docks no longer saw the world-wide traffic that had come to them in the eighteenth century, but there was considerable commercial shipping on the river, and Middletown was an important stop for the boats that ran between Hartford and New York. From the college green (of Wesleyan College) above Main Street, one might look on "the town, embosomed in its leafage," while perhaps on the calm surface of the river

One white sail, swiftly skimming up from the unseen outlet of the gorge below, was in view. Then came another and another, like a flight of swans, graceful and gliding.¹¹

The coming of railroad connections made it more accessible by land, although the effort to make it the center of a railroad system

⁹Connecticut Convention *Journal*, 1854, p. 19.

¹⁰Sermon of William A. Hitchcock, '57, in *Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Berkeley Divinity School* (Albany, 1879), p. 9.

¹¹Walter Mitchell, *Bryan Maurice* (Philadelphia, 1868), Chap. XIV.

rivalling those based on Hartford and New Haven failed.¹² Bishop Williams' episcopate, beginning not long after the spread of railroads and ending just before the coming of the automobile, spans a period in which Middletown was indeed in a conveniently central position for the life of the Church in Connecticut. The Jarvis House was in a central position in the town, at the southwest corner of Main and Washington Streets. It had been built "as an Hotel or Public Tavern" by the Washington Hotel Company in 1813.¹³ Lafayette was entertained there during his American tour in 1825; the mantelpiece now in the Berkeley deanery in New Haven comes from the room where he presumably dined on that occasion. The second building of Christ Church stood a block further west, on Broad Street. But in 1848 a legacy, under the terms of which the parish changed its name to Holy Trinity, gave the church a large piece of land in the middle of the block, running from Broad to Main. In 1854, the house on Main Street was occupied as the rectory, but the erection of a new church on the site was already contemplated.¹⁴

Berkeley thus began its separate existence in quiet surroundings, to be sure, but at the center of the life of parish, town, and diocese. Throughout its history, the school has been a distinct community, yet definitely in touch with the life of the Church at large and the world around it.

The charter entrusted the affairs of Berkeley to a board of trustees, headed by the bishop of Connecticut, as "*ex officio* president of the board of trustees, and of the school," a relation which still continues. The president of Trinity College and "the rector of the oldest Episcopal parish in the city of Middletown" were to be *ex-officio* trustees. The rector of Holy Trinity still retains his place; the presidents of Trinity have not served on the board as such since 1895. Vacancies among the other trustees, clerical and lay, were to be filled by the diocesan convention, or in case it failed to do so, by the board itself. This liberty was in fact allowed as soon as the occasion arose; the provision for possible election by the convention was finally dropped from the charter in 1929. Although located in the diocese of Connecticut and closely

¹²Middletown history of this period has recently been made the background of a novel, *The Bridge*, by Marguerite Allis (New York, Putnam, 1949), which carries its characters into national events as carefully as the contemporary *Bryan Maurice* avoids them.

¹³"Centenary of the Jarvis House," in *Berkeley Divinity School Bulletin*, No. 15, April, 1913, pp. 4-6.

¹⁴For Middletown details, I am indebted to information from the present rector, the Rev. Robert S. Beecher, as well as to the *Historical Sketch* (1887), and Julia Ann Brazos, *A Brief History of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Middletown, Connecticut* (Middletown, 1943).

connected with it, Berkeley has never been a diocesan institution. As Bishop Williams said in announcing the granting of the charter in 1854:

The work was begun in no narrow spirit of localism, but simply under a strong feeling of the growing necessities of the Church in reference to the sacred ministry, and in earnest wish to do something towards meeting those necessities.¹⁵

Informality necessarily marked the early days of Berkeley's life in the Jarvis House. Bishop Williams was dean and taught "Doctrinal Theology and the Ritual." From December 1854, he had the assistance of the first resident professor, the Rev. Edwin Harwood, in "Literature and Interpretation of the Scriptures." The visiting lecturers were a distinguished group: the rector of Holy Trinity, F. J. Goodwin, taught Evidences; Dr. Coit came from Troy, New York, where in 1854 he had become rector of St. Paul's, to deliver his lectures on Church History; E. A. Washburn of St. John's, Hartford, later of Calvary, New York, was responsible for Polity; A. N. Littlejohn of St. Paul's, New Haven, afterwards bishop of Long Island—Pastoral Theology; and Francis T. Russell, '55, of New Britain—Elocution. Thomas F. Davies, '56, later bishop of Michigan, was Hebrew reader as a senior, and continued as an instructor after his graduation.¹⁶ Davies is said to have been the young cleric who replied to a lady who questioned the air of authority he assumed with his surplice,

"Madam, when I have this on I am nineteen hundred years old."¹⁷

The *Catalogues* assure us that classic and modern textbooks were used, that "side reading" was also recommended, and that—what was then a new educational method—"Lectures enter largely into the prescribed course of the studies of the School." By 1856, there were nineteen students. The school year at first ran in one term from the beginning of October to the end of June. In Bishop Williams' time, no academic honors were bestowed. The place of a commencement was taken by the ordination of the graduating class at the beginning of June, which shortly became the end of the session. Prayers were said daily, according to a form set forth by the bishop. At first the

¹⁵Connecticut Convention *Journal*, 1854, p. 19. The charter is in the Convention *Journal*, 1855, pp. 96-7; as amended, privately printed by the school.

¹⁶The *Catalogue of the Berkeley Divinity School*, first published in 1856, and continued to the present, is the source of formal information about the school from this point.

¹⁷J. G. H. Barry, *Impressions and Opinions* (New York, Gorham, 1931), pp. 83-4.

parish church was used for this purpose—"Day by day did these streets witness the going up to that sacred temple for the daily offering of prayer and praise," said one of the early alumni in a mood of reminiscence at the celebration of the 25th anniversary. But shortly, with the help of some of the local young people, an oratory was constructed in the Jarvis House, the first of Berkeley's four chapels.¹⁸

A partially autobiographical novel by Walter Mitchell, '58, helps to amplify our picture of Berkeley, slightly disguised as the Cranmer Theological School at Broadwater, in its early days. Mitchell's hero, Bryan Maurice, comes in his spiritual pilgrimage to visit the school in its "large three-story house of stately proportions" on "a broad still street, lined with elms and bordered with shrubberies," and attends morning prayers in the oratory, which is briefly described—a small altar with a crimson altar-cloth against a frosted east window, a plain reredos behind, topped with a cross, simple benches against the wall on either side, and the lectern at the lower end. "Fourteen or fifteen young men, mostly wearing simple black stuff gowns" await the entrance of a surpliced clergyman, whose arrival is "quick and business-like . . . not irreverent indeed, but the reverse of pompous." This is Dr. Harwood, later further described as "a man in the earlier years of middle life—a square, slightly massive head, the expression deeply earnest, the stature of middle height; the whole man betraying in his restlessness, his careless *pose* and quick intuition, as well as by the tones of the rich and flexible voice, an unusual amount of energy and power." The service includes several features not then in the American Prayer Book: versicle, "O God, make speed to save us"; Confession, Absolution, Our Father; Psalms said antiphonally; Old Testament lesson (probably the New Testament came in the evening); Magnificat, Nicene Creed, versicles and prayers.

Later, Maurice consults books in the library, including "a splendid vellum-bound copy of the first Prayer-book of Edward VI"—doubtless part of the Pickering series of English Prayer Books from 1549 to 1844, which are among the first important sets at Berkeley (unfortunately only pseudo-vellum, they have recently had to be rebound). Another professor then talks with him about the unity and continuity of the Catholic Church and the legitimate development of its creed. "Professor Charles Wentworth" is evidently John Williams in the 1850's—"a man of middle life, with curling hair, and his handsome head carried rather haughtily; his voice full and rich, with something in its

¹⁸*Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Berkeley Divinity School* (1879), pp. 6-9.

swelling intonation of that utterance peculiar to Harvard."¹⁹ Beside the venerable prelate of his later portraits, it is interesting to put this picture of the energetic dean-bishop of earlier years, as he appears in the early portrait now in the Berkeley refectory.

III

SOLID growth followed on the foundations thus simply laid. In 1858, those who had completed their theological studies at Hartford or Middletown were organized into the Associate Alumni. Alumni meetings have been held since then, the annual alumni service and sermon since 1862. Harwood left in 1859 for Trinity Church, New Haven, and was followed as resident professor by the Rev. Samuel Fuller. In 1860, five friends of the bishop's gave the "Wing Building" to accomodate additional students—though thought of as temporary, it continued in use till 1928. On May 30th in the same year, the cornerstone was laid for a chapel, which was opened on the Epiphany, 1861, and consecrated by Bishop Williams on March 16th. The building thus formed three sides of a quadrangle, open to the street.

St. Luke's Chapel was the gift of Mrs. Mary W. (Alsop) Mütter in memory of her husband, Dr. Thomas Dent Mütter, who had died at Charleston on March 16, 1859, and was buried at Middletown a week later. As the bishop observed in his consecration sermon, the dedication to St. Luke was both a tribute to one who had been "a 'beloved physician,' ministering not to the body only, but to the spirit also," and a proper association for those who were in training for the cure of souls. St. Luke's, "in the decorated style of Gothic architecture," comprised a nave, a choir of 62 stalls, and a sanctuary "terminated by

¹⁹Walter Mitchell, *Bryan Maurice, or The Seeker*, Philadelphia, 1868 (2nd ed., New York, 1899), Chapter XIV; Williams' characteristics are divided among several of Mitchell's characters; he is also the visiting bishop who confirms Maurice in Chapter XIX, congratulating the class on having come forth "From the bondage of the opposing yet confederated errors which assail the life of the Catholic Church," and the Rev. Stephen Gardiner whom he meets in Chapter I—

"a tall man, large framed, and slightly stooping, the head beginning to be bald a little. The whiskers trimmed in the English fashion. He wore spectacles, his hands were white and very handsome, his mouth showed great firmness, and his forehead was high and ample."

The Roman scenes in the opening chapters reflect the interest of the 1850's and '60's in the papal question; a considerable number of books and pamphlets from Bishop Williams' library, still at Berkeley, relate to it.

an apsis of five sides of an octagon."²⁰ Mitchell's enthusiastic appreciation parallels the official description:

The little building, for it was small, was exquisite in proportions and adornments. The roof was of illuminated panels of gold and ultramarine, relieved with vermillion . . . The chancel-roof was sprinkled with golden stars. In the center of the apse was a high window, with a very lovely full-length picture of the Saviour walking on the sea. Beneath was the altar, richly vested in an altar-cloth of dark-hued velvet, with the sacred Monogram embroidered on the centre.²¹

The nave windows were memorials to the bishops of the diocese; the lesser chancel-lights carried the symbols of the Evangelists. The lectern stood in front of the sanctuary gate, the font at the entrance of the choir. Over the west door (actual as well as liturgical—the chapel was properly oriented, which put its sanctuary towards the street) was another window with the seal of the school, a red cross on a blue ground with a star in the upper right (of the shield). Since 1910, the cross in the Berkeley arms has been edged with gold for the sake of heraldic correctness; the crest is a mitre from the Berkeley family arms, the motto *In illa quae ultra sunt* (II Corinthians 10:16).²² "Maurice owned the subduing influence of the place," says Mitchell of his hero, doubtless reflecting the general impression of early worshippers at St. Luke's.

The prominence of the font in a school chapel is surprising, but altar, lectern and font in line were doubtless meant to symbolize the undivided ministry of Word and Sacraments. Bishop Williams also contemplated that the Berkeley chapel, with its seats always free, would also serve as a kind of mission chapel, auxiliary to the parish church. But such needs were met otherwise, especially after the erection of the present Holy Trinity Church on the adjoining Church property in 1872-4.²³ In 1868, Berkeley had acquired the intervening Wright House, which provided a place for the refectory and some additional rooms for students. In effect, though not in name, Holy Trinity was Bishop

²⁰Description attached to John Williams, *The Sermon Preached at the Consecration of the Chapel of St. Luke the Beloved Physician in the Berkeley Divinity School* (privately printed, Middletown, 1861); *Chapel of St. Luke* [Special Bulletin] (Middletown, 1911).

²¹*Bryan Maurice*, Chapter XIX; the altar cross was a gift from the alumni in 1873; candlesticks in 1911.

²²In technical terms, which I owe to Canon West of New York; arms—azure, a cross gules fimbriated or, and in the dexter chief a molet of eight points or; crest, on a precious mitre banded labeled and edged or, a chevronel or between ten crosses coupé of the second.

²³The old church became the Russell Library.

Williams' pro-cathedral, as the scene of the annual ordination, and St. Luke's the episcopal chapel. The liturgical life of the school was now completed with the regular celebration of the Eucharist in its own chapel, for which, in addition to the chalice once used by Bishop Seabury, already in Berkeley's possession, Mrs. Mütter gave a paten and "three elegant flagons."²⁴ Rather amusingly, the earlier *Catalogues* state that the students "attend the Parish Church on occasions of public worship and their names are enrolled among its communicants," while, beginning in 1862, we are told that "attendance elsewhere than at the chapel is voluntary." After 1870, there is no more reference to a special form of prayers, but to daily service in the chapel, with the Holy Communion on Sundays and Holy Days.

On the death of Bishop Brownell in 1865, Bishop Williams became president of the school as well as dean. His labors were not immediately increased, since Bishop Brownell had delegated all diocesan functions to him for some years. Still, additional assistance was needed at Berkeley, and the faculty was gradually enlarged. William H. Vibbert, '62, remained as instructor in Hebrew till 1873. John Binney, '68 (1844-1913), then returned, beginning a teaching career at Berkeley which was to last for forty years. Henry DeKoven taught Homiletics, 1865-9; H. A. Yardley came as assistant to the bishop in 1863, remaining in various capacities till 1882. Frederic Gardiner came as professor of Old Testament in 1868; when Fuller retired in 1882, Gardiner took over the New Testament chair and Binney the Old Testament. William Allen Johnson succeeded Yardley in Evidences and Homiletics in the same year. Ten years before, Dr. Coit had retired from his parish to spend a vigorous old age as resident professor of Church History. Graduating classes varied from ten to seventeen, and Berkeley men were spreading through the Church. Three members of the class of 1872 went out as deacons with Bishop William Hobart Hare to his Niobrara jurisdiction. One of them, Hachaliah Burt, was to spend forty-three years in devoted ministry in South Dakota, beginning a connection between Berkeley and that missionary district which has lasted to the present.²⁵

²⁴The Seabury chalice is now usually on display at the Yale Art Gallery; the location of the flagons is unknown. The font from Middletown is now in the ante-chapel at New Haven, and the "Seabury altar," which was used there, is in the sacristy.

²⁵Obituary in *Berkeley Divinity School Bulletin*, No. 23, July, 1915. Three bishops of South Dakota—Johnson, Biller, and Roberts—have been Berkeley alumni; the present bishop, Conrad H. Gesner, spent his childhood at Middletown, where his father, Anthon T. Gesner, also an alumnus, was then on the faculty.

Bishop Williams' decade of fruition began with the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Berkeley in 1879. On this occasion, the portrait painted for the diocese in commemoration of the similar anniversary of his consecration was entrusted to the school²⁶. In 1881, he inaugurated the Paddock Lectureship at the General Theological Seminary with his *Studies on the English Reformation*, and in the fall gave the Bedell Lectures at Kenyon on *The World's Witness to Jesus Christ*.²⁷ His *Syllabus of Church History* was printed in 1885. In 1883-5, he was the central figure in the celebration of the Seabury Centennial, presiding at appropriate observances in Connecticut, and heading a delegation from the American Church to the diocese of Aberdeen, Scotland. In 1887, he became Presiding Bishop. All these events were followed with interest at the school where he resided and centered his activities.

The Berkeley of Bishop Williams was at its height in these years, graduating in 1883 a class of twenty-one, its largest till seventy years later. A distinguished alumnus of 1886 has left a vivid if acid description of the school in the middle of the 1880's, in which his main complaint is that those who had most to teach were least able to impart it. Dr. Binney, however,

knew his subject and made us see that the real danger of the time was not in accepting the conclusions of criticism in regard to the Old Testament, but in foreclosing the questions that were raised.

Gardiner represented something of a Broad Church tendency; Coit, the senior professor, had great stores of information, though largely oriented towards the controversies of his youth. To some of his bright young men, Bishop Williams' strict Anglicanism seemed rather narrow and provincial, and his lectures on Liturgies appeared mainly a collection of cautionary anecdotes about possible mistakes in the services. Still,

I have never known a more fascinating teacher in the sense that he could present a subject with absolute lucidity and with great persuasiveness. His classes were a delight,

and his theology centered in an exposition of Hooker's great treatment of the Incarnation.²⁸

²⁶*Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Berkeley Divinity School* (Albany, 1879).

²⁷New York, Dutton, 1881, and Putnam, 1882, respectively.

²⁸J. G. H. Barry, *Impressions and Opinions* (New York, Gorham, 1931), Chaps. VI-VII.

In those days, lecture rooms and library were on the second floor of the Jarvis House, and a few student rooms were on the third. The bishop's quarters were on the first, including the study which served also as office, diocesan headquarters, and classroom. As a student of somewhat later date has recorded, when the students entered,

The bishop was waiting, sitting in his accustomed chair, with the familiar purple dressing-gown on, his gold-bowed spectacles high on his forehead, his nose buried deep in some book, as he sought a reference, presumably in that final moment, which he would use in his lecture, and then when it was found a certain swift motion of the forehead automatically dropped the spectacles into place on the nose, and he was ready to begin.²⁹

Berkeley still had much of the character of a family of students gathered around their Father-in-God, which had also been the ideal of Berkeley's English contemporary, Cuddesdon College, founded by Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford in 1854. William F. Nichols, '73, who taught Church History at Berkeley, 1885-7, and who became the bishop of California, took the same ideal to the far West of which Bishop Berkeley had dreamed, and expressed it in 1893 in the foundation of Berkeley's eldest daughter, the Church Divinity School of the Pacific. It will scarcely be possible again to combine the offices of dean and bishop, but the sense of the school as a family does we hope remain.

Two interesting memorials of the 1880's remain at Berkeley. One is the collection of books once belonging to Dr. Coit, much of whose library of 14,000 volumes was bought for the school after his death in 1885 (to which may be added the recent gift of a number of his notebooks and sermons). The other is a plain wooden cross, first used at a retreat held in 1883 by a group of students who used to meet for compline and other devotional exercises beyond those provided by the school.³⁰ The cross was left to be passed on to "the most Catholic person" in each class, a commission which has not been interpreted since in terms of any lesser Catholicity than that which belongs to the whole Church.

IV

QUIET continuance on established foundations marks the history of Berkeley as the nineteenth century came to an end. Johnson took over the Church History chair from Nichols in 1887. Sylvester

²⁹W. A. Beardsley, "John Williams," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XIX (1945), pp. 133-4; the bishop's study is also described in Mitchell, *op. cit.*, Chap. XIX.

³⁰On the "Oriels," see Barry, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

Clarke, '58, came to teach Evidences and Homiletics (1887-1904), and John H. Barbour, '76, succeeded Gardiner in New Testament, 1889-1900. Francis Russell, the last survivor of the original faculty besides the dean, is listed as part-time professor of Elocution to 1899, but, from 1896 to 1916, the Rev. Albert F. Tenney gave instruction in that field. In 1896, an attractive library was added to the school buildings, back of the Jarvis House. On Bishop Williams' death, it received a large part of his private library, and was given the name of Williams Library, which the founder's modesty had prevented before. Dr. Binney's was probably the chief strictly scholarly interest in the school at this time, an interest still reflected in the Berkeley Library's considerable collections in the Old Testament and Semitic fields. In Bishop Williams' later years, Dr. Binney was sub-dean. The choice of the trustees naturally fell on him after the founder entered into rest on February 7, 1899. For the last year or two of his life, Bishop Williams was confined to his house, but he continued to meet his classes there till nearly the end.

The first period of Berkeley history is that of Bishop Williams, the second that of Binney and Hart. Samuel Hart (1845-1917), Trinity '66 and Berkeley '69, had taught at his alma mater for thirty years. Pastor and friend to all his students, and above all a Christian gentleman, he came to "the Berkeley" to take over Bishop Williams' courses in 1899, and in the next eighteen years taught at one time or another almost every subject in the curriculum. He was vice-dean under Binney, and succeeded him from 1908-1917, continuing to serve the Church at large as secretary of the House of Bishops and custodian of the Prayer Book. Liturgics was the subject of his chief specialized knowledge, and he wrote on the subject in the Sewanee series of Church manuals. But "Sammy Hart" was his own chief contribution to school or college, from the days of the slender cleric who accompanied Bishop Williams to Aberdeen to the solid figure of the bishop's successor at Middletown. He never forgot that courtesy is a Christian virtue. It is remembered that on almost the last evening of his life, he said good-bye to his doctor with the words, "You will find the sherry on the table," as forty years before he had put embarrassed candidates for a Trinity College examination at ease by saying, "There is plenty of ice-water in a pitcher on the stove" (this was on a hot day in September).³¹ There has been scarcely another seminary dean whose students insist on remember-

³¹The latter episode from personal communication of J. C. Petrie, '19; the former in Melville K. Bailey, *Samuel Hart, Priest and Doctor* [*Soldier and Servant Series*], (Hartford, Church Missions Publishing Co., 1922) which also contains the latest use I have seen of "the Berkeley," often used in earlier days where we now say "Berkeley" in brief reference to the school.

ing him by nickname, or who found it natural to say at close of day, "Good-night, and don't forget to say your prayers."

The life of the school continued to develop, both academically and devotionally. A Thursday Eucharist was added to the chapel schedule (first mentioned in the *Catalogue* for 1904), and quiet days to the school calendar; 1905 seems to have been one of the first, although ordination retreats had been held at Middle Haddam since 1876. After 1899, Berkeley began to award the degree of bachelor of divinity to those who completed the course with distinction.

Several outstanding men served on the faculty. Samuel R. Colladay, '94, later dean of Hartford, taught New Testament from 1900-1909. Frederick J. Kinsman, later professor at the General Seminary and bishop of Delaware, taught Church History, 1900-1903, when he was succeeded by Philip Mercer Rhinelander, the gentleman, scholar, and saint who was afterwards bishop of Pennsylvania and first warden of the College of Preachers, Washington. In 1904, William Palmer Ladd came to Berkeley to teach Church History, Rhinelander shifting to Homiletics and Pastoral Theology. For a year, two of the great leaders of the Church in our time shared bachelor quarters in Middletown, until Rhinelander's marriage in 1905.³² When Rhinelander left for Cambridge in 1907, he was followed by Ellis Bishop, '97, 1908-1910, and Anthon Temple Gesner, '93, 1910-18. Dr. Binney continued as professor after his retirement as dean, but was assisted and then succeeded in 1911, by Hervey Vanderbogart, '06. In 1908, William B. Davis, organist of Holy Trinity, began to give instruction in Church Music, which he continued as long as the school was at Middletown—still cheerfully remembered as Billy Davis by alumni of the period. Hiram VanKirk, the first Ph.D on Berkeley's faculty list, taught New Testament, 1909-10; in 1911, he was followed by Charles Baker Hedrick, whose connection with Berkeley was to last for a generation.

Catalogues of these years mention the opportunities for advanced study offered by Wesleyan University, and indicate that some students from Wesleyan took advantage of Berkeley's offerings, especially in Hebrew and Old Testament. The *Berkeley Divinity School Bulletin* first appeared in April 1909. Its first number reports the initial lectures on the first of Berkeley's special foundations, the Page Lectureship, established by the will of Mrs. Mary Fitch Page for "Divinity Sermons or Lectures" on any of the topics prescribed for the Bampton Lectures at Oxford, which in effect means any theological subject. The first

³²On those days, see H. B. Washburn, *Philip Mercer Rhinelander* (New York, Morehouse-Gorham, 1950) Chapter V.

Page Lecturer was William Mercer Grosvenor, '88, who spoke on "The Refuge: the Home, the Book, the Church, the Kingdom."

Berkeley in its middle years had an excellent faculty and loyal students, many of whom have given distinguished service, "at home or in heathen lands," in the words of one of the school prayers. Yet once the commanding figure of the founder was withdrawn, many felt some doubt as to the reason for the existence of a divinity school at Middletown. In 1902, there were only seven students. This was a sudden decline after Bishop Williams' death, and numbers increased thereafter; but still the graduating classes rarely exceeded five or six. A circular issued by Dean Binney in 1906 appealed *To the Alumni* to make the school better known, "and so to aid in securing for it a number of students more nearly corresponding to its capacity." Other needs are mentioned in the *Catalogue*—a modern dormitory, an adequate refectory, proper support for the library and for professorships, but no great accession of strength followed. Even friends of Berkeley came to think of Middletown as out-of-the-way, and talked of moving the school elsewhere. However, it was more in touch with the greater life of the Church and the world than some observers supposed.

Diocesan activities often brought groups of churchmen to Middletown—the examining chaplains, the archdeaconry of Middlesex, and Social Service conferences often met at the school—and the school or its missionary society welcomed a surprising number of visiting speakers, on world conditions as well as on strictly ecclesiastical topics. The *Bulletin* of May, 1915, for instance, mentions addresses by the warden of Sing Sing and the Rev. J. J. D. Hall of Galilee Mission, Philadelphia, on their respective works; by Professor Rice of Wesleyan on the progress of science, and by Dr. Milo H. Gates of the Chapel of the Intercession, New York, on the Mozarabic rite; and three lectures by Professor Kleene of Trinity on Socialism, in which he noted optimistically that "most Socialists today, even in Germany, were revisionists or opportunists." The same number announces a second special endowment—the Watson Fellowship for advanced study, established by Mrs. Susan M. Watson (a daughter of Dean Hoffman of General) in memory of her husband, the Rev. Henry M. Watson, '71—and changes in the charter to provide for the election of six alumni trustees.

As country and world gradually approached an undreamed-of crisis, World War I, Berkeley rather suddenly came to the end of an epoch. On January 30, 1917, Professor Vandebogart, devoted pastor and promising scholar, still in his early forties, died, only two weeks after the loss of his wife, following a long illness. Dean Hart followed him on

February 25th. Professor Ladd was placed in charge of the school, which in 1916-17 contained 25 students. A year later he was elected dean, and took office in an atmosphere of coming reconstruction in the school, as in the nation, the world, and the Church.

V

WILLIAM Palmer Ladd (1870-1941) exhibited that combination of apparent opposites in which Nicholas of Cusa found the highest form of being. Profoundly a New Hampshire Yankee, he was a citizen of the world, with cosmopolitan interests and contacts. Deeply an individualist, he saw the main purpose of education in the production of self-reliant individuals, yet made the school as far as possible a close-knit, cooperative community, whose pattern was to be found (*mutatis mutandis*) in the Rule of St. Benedict. His political ideal may have been Christian Socialism, but a Laddian social order would surely have nurtured and not discouraged individualism. He was happy as scholar and teacher, yet his early pastoral work at Berlin, New Hampshire, where he was rector from 1897 to 1903, is still remembered gratefully after fifty years. Concerned with facts rather than labels, he had little interest in either acquiring or conferring formal academic honors—a Harvard Ph.D. was in his grasp in 1904, but he abandoned it when called to the actual work of teaching; yet he was seriously concerned to maintain Berkeley's status in the academic world.

His own ideas were clear and incisive, but his chief verbal weapon and means of instruction was well-chosen silence; he was determined that his students should study the subject and not merely wait for the professor to tell them about it. Simple and austere in his way of life, he seemed destined to be the last of his family; happily, in 1916 he brought his English bride to Middletown, and became the devoted father of sons and daughters. As a historian well-informed on the traditions of the Church, he did not feel himself bound by any tradition merely as tradition. In the words of one who was closely associated with him, "he was all for *secondhand* things, but never *secondhand thinking*."²²

Dean Ladd began his administration with Berkeley's first separate graduation, in 1918; previously, degrees and diplomas had been awarded at the ordination or the alumni service. His formal inauguration came on the Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, October 28th. The topic of

²²Remarks of Miss Elizabeth B. Raftery, secretary and registrar, at the celebration of the 25th year of her service to the school, January 23, 1952 (mimeographed ms).

his address was "The Church's Task in the New Age"; as more than once before, the Church stands at the end of an old order and the beginning of a new one; in such a time, the candidate for the ministry must not only be equipped with the necessary knowledge and techniques, and trained in the proper moral character and devotional spirit, but he must be provided with "some knowledge and understanding of the world in which he is to live and exercise his office." The clergy of this age "must give the Church some worthy share in the furtherance of the coming industrial democracy," and perhaps once again art, literature, philosophy, education will find their place in the Kingdom of God; there may be larger spheres of usefulness ahead for the divinity school, in addition to the training of young aspirants for holy orders.⁸⁴ The visions of 1918 were not fully realized, but if visions had not been seen, the achievements of later years would not have followed.

Changes and development soon began, though continuity of spirit with the Berkeley of Williams, Binney, and Hart was rightly claimed and maintained. In 1918-19, Percy Dearmer, unconventional liturgist (his strict English-rite days at Primrose Hill were over), was on the staff, teaching Liturgics and Sociology. The wartime low ebb in numbers was reached in 1919, when one Japanese student graduated, though others of the class finished their delayed studies later. In 1919 and 1920, Berkeley was host to a Summer School of Theology for returning veterans, organized by the deans of the Eastern seminaries. From 1919-1923, Frederic Curtiss Lauderburn—most affectionate in his friendships, most outgoing in his pastoral and social interests, most other-worldly in his priesthood—was professor of Pastoral Theology. His arrival at Middletown was marked by what will seem to many a typical piece of Dean Ladd's unexpectedness; the dean greeted him with the words, "I've put you down to teach Psychology of Nursing at the Middlesex Hospital; they asked if we could provide someone for the subject, and I thought it would be a good connection for the School." Professor Lauderburn took the obvious course of buying the books on the subject, of which there were at that time two.⁸⁵

As the school was beginning to move ahead under its new dean, it was met by an attack from an unexpected quarter, namely, certain elements in the city of Middletown and on the board of trustees. This was the post-war period of revived enthusiasm for social reform on the one hand, and of "red scares" on the other. On December 2, 1919,

⁸⁴Supplement to *Bulletin* No. 34, December 1918.

⁸⁵The *Bulletin* is the main source for Berkeley history since 1918, supplemented (as for the above anecdote) by authentic oral tradition.

"an illustrated lecture on Russia was given before the Student Social Study Club in the School library" by a former Y. M. C. A. worker in that country, who had also spoken at several colleges. This was the occasion, rather than the cause, of charges of "Bolshevism at Berkeley," which were taken up in the local press, and referred to a committee of three lay trustees.³⁶ After long delay, this produced a report which dropped the specific charges, but took occasion to criticize the position of the dean and other members of the faculty as members of the recently formed Church League for Industrial Democracy—

In the present state of the public mind, and from the standpoint of the citizen of the world, whether he calls himself a Christian or not, we think it unwise.

This unhappy phrase was followed up by a statement that the trustees, as ultimately responsible for the teaching and the life of the school, could not

for a moment permit any action or influence of theirs [the faculty] as teachers, which would seem to develop socialism as a political idea—

without precisely saying that they had done so. The dean naturally stood his ground,³⁷ and no formal results followed, although tension between the dean and some of the trustees continued for some years. One of the committee, Frederick J. Kingsbury, remained a close friend of the dean's; it was in his memory that the Kingsbury Lectures on Christian Social Service were established by his sister in 1929.

Berkeley did not lose the support of the bishop, or of most of its trustees; Dean Ladd indeed occupied an official civic position, 1919-21, as chairman of the Connecticut Child Welfare Commission. In retrospect, it does not seem that the social-gospel movements of these years were as significant as some hoped and others feared, even though we have now come to accept many policies which were then considered dangerously radical. Even from the narrowest point of view, the publicity which made the Church aware of Berkeley may have been a gain, unfair though it was to the balance of the school's interests. If some possible financial support was lost, more was gained through the formation of the Berkeley Associates, whose contributions were for some years a considerable part of the school's income. Berkeley thus anticipated the present, more broadly based, Seminary Sunday collections in recognizing that theological education is a responsibility of the present-

³⁶*Bulletin*, No. 37, March, 1920.

³⁷*A Statement by Dean Ladd*, reprinted from the *Hartford Courant*, 1920.

day Church, not to be left entirely to the legacies of benevolent benefactors of the past.

Dean Ladd's administration may be roughly divided into four periods. The first years of organization produced the major faculty as it was to remain to the end of his time. P. V. Norwood, the first Watson Fellow, and for a short time professor, left for Western Theological Seminary in 1921; in the same year, Fleming James began his twenty-year incumbency in the Old Testament chair. Percy Linwood Urban began his connection with Berkeley in 1924 as lecturer in Missions, later adding the field of Systematic Theology to his responsibility. A Summer School of Theology for Women was held for three years, 1923-1925, a valuable enterprise, although there was not enough interest to call for its further continuance. A more permanent Berkeley institution was the invitation of English lecturers. Dearmer had been the first, but the regular series, for whom an active program of speaking and preaching has been arranged in addition to their activities at the school, began with T. W. Pym in 1922-3. "This visit was exhausting but intensely enjoyed" is the comment of Mrs. Pym,³⁸ a sentiment that several of her husband's successors would share. The next English lecturer was G. A. Studdert-Kennedy, one of the Church of England's chief prophetic voices of our time, and other outstanding Anglican leaders have followed. Two other typical activities begun in these years were continued later in New Haven—the annual carol service with its unusual music, which filled the chapel with friends and neighbors as well as students, and the *conversazioni* ("conversatz" for short) on Sunday evenings at the deanery, when representatives of any walk of life except the strictly ecclesiastical were brought to share their ideas and experiences with the student body.

The second period is that of departure from Middletown, the desirability of which had been discussed for some years. People talked of moving Berkeley to Hartford or Philadelphia, or joining it with the C. D. S. P. at Berkeley, California; even Peekskill, New York, was seriously proposed. It was increasingly clear that if Berkeley was to train clergy for the modern world and the modern Church, it needed larger contacts, both general and academic, than Middletown afforded. New Haven had been considered before, and came back into the picture again. Finally, the plunge was made in 1928, and under generous terms of academic affiliation with Yale University, Berkeley was established on Sachem and Mansfield Streets in the midst of the university area.

³⁸Dora Pym, *Tom Pym, A Portrait* (Cambridge, Heffer, 1952) p. 70; Pym's American impressions on pp. 129-133.

Just before the change, Dr. J. Chauncey Linsley joined the Berkeley family on his retirement from Trinity Church, Torrington, and for over twenty years shared the vigor of old Connecticut churchmanship with the younger generation. Thomas S. Cline, '05, taught Pastoral Theology from 1928 to 1930. It is impossible to speak of all the visiting lecturers or short-term professors who came to Middletown or New Haven—though one should not forget Dickinson Miller, individual apologist, who brought his special contributions from New York to Middletown, 1917-22, whenever he remembered to get off the Hartford boat (which ran until 1931) on the right bank of the river.

Since 1928, Yale's academic privileges have been open to the Berkeley faculty and students, while Berkeley retains its own character and autonomy and, of course, financial responsibility. This was an unexpectedly heavy burden for some years after 1928, even though generous gifts were made towards establishing the school in New Haven. The expected sale of the Middletown property became impossible, and for a decade it was a source of expense rather than of revenue. The neat Georgian buildings contemplated in 1928 were never erected,³⁹ and temporary accommodations bade fair to become permanent arrangements. There was at least the essential accommodation for dean, faculty, and students. The "Upper Room" in the old coach-house, which became the chapel, acquired for many of those who in it learned to say their prayers, the associations of a shrine.

This third period, establishment in New Haven, ended with a crisis in the early 1930's. For some years an "Emergency Fund" was raised for the immediate needs of the school. Plans for another move, specifically for the union of Berkeley with the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, were seriously considered. Considering the present size and prosperity of both schools, and the obvious need for both, it is fortunate indeed that this was not carried through, although many on both sides hoped that it might be. The *Bulletin* for August 1935 announces firmly that

the Berkeley Trustees have decided not to merge with any other school, and Berkeley will open as usual, Sept. 23, 1935.

W. P. LADD.

With this decision, the tide had turned, and the continued life of Berkeley at New Haven was assured. In the fall, several trustees who were not in sympathy with the policies of the school resigned and were

³⁹On the plans then made, see brochure, *The Name of Berkeley*, Middletown, 1927.

replaced by others, among whom have been some of Berkeley's most devoted lay supporters of recent years.

For six years, Dean Ladd was able to see the school growing and developing in its new home. Without abandoning his interest in justice among men and nations, and his care for the personal development of his students, he developed a new interest of his own in these years in the Liturgical Movement. Where Dean Hart had loved the service just as it stands in the book, Dean Ladd was more disposed to encourage the expression of ancient ideas in forms suited for the modern world by intelligent experimentation. For him the corporate Eucharist, such as that celebrated week by week at Berkeley, brought together personal religion, theology, and the life of fellowship in a manner perfect in principle, but needing constant improvement in expression. His own ideas are summarized in the beautifully chiseled paragraphs of his *Prayer Book Interleaves*, finally completed and assembled for publication during his last illness. Students and other friends shared his liturgical interests, which, without being formally planned as such, developed a truly ecumenical fellowship. Visitors to Berkeley in these years included a group of German Benedictines, leaders in the Liturgical Movement in their native country, who were looking for a refuge abroad for their traditions should their survival become impossible at home.⁴⁰ A unique activity of the Berkeley family in these years was the sponsorship of the Liturgical League which, working mainly through young people's groups, was able to bring together Episcopalians, Protestants, and Roman Catholics around a common interest in the meaning of the Eucharist according to their various traditions.⁴¹

In an atmosphere of great things to come, Berkeley achieved in 1940 an outward and visible sign of permanence in New Haven with the purchase of "Sachem Hall," a solidly built, former fraternity house, rounding out the central block of school property between Mansfield and Prospect Streets. The building was renamed Brewster Hall in honor of Berkeley's outstanding alumnus, whose life spanned the whole history of the school. Chauncey Bunce Brewster (1848-1941), whose very name speaks of old New England, was a son of the first rector of Christ Church, New Haven, and a Berkeley graduate in 1872. Becoming John Williams' coadjutor in 1897, he presided over school and diocese from 1899 to 1928, leading the diocese of Connecticut from the simple and informal days of the dean-bishop to the complex responsi-

⁴⁰Two of whom remain connected with America—Damascus Winzen, prior of Mount Saviour, Elmira, N. Y.; and Leo Rudloff, abbot of the Dormition, Jerusalem, which has a branch house in Vermont.

⁴¹See *Prayer Book Interleaves* (New York, Oxford, 1942) pp. 117-123.

bilities of the Church of today, and supporting Berkeley as it met the successive changes of these years. After his retirement, he delivered the first Kingsbury Lecture in 1929, on "The Church and the World," and lived twelve years more, into his ninety-third year. Brewster Hall was dedicated in his honor on September 24, 1940, and became his memorial in the following April.

Once more the end of an epoch at Berkeley was at hand as World War II threatened America. There were several changes in the personnel of the school. Professor James left in 1940 to become dean of the School of Theology at the University of the South.⁴² Dr. Urban resigned his parish and became full-time professor of Theology in 1941. Harold Belshaw had come as assistant to the dean in 1937; from 1941 he was bursar, later professor of Pastoral Theology, to 1951. The great change came with Dean Ladd's death. His long illness, bravely borne, stretched through most of the academic year 1940-41, of which it has been said that having taught his student how a priest should live, he now showed them how a Christian could die. His earthly life and labors came to an end on July 1, 1941.

VI

FOR a year, Professor Hedrick was acting dean, the only time that particular title has been used in Berkeley history. In 1942, the Rev. Lawrence Rose, formerly of the Central Theological College, Tokyo, became the fifth dean of Berkeley. Professor Hedrick died early in 1943; Robert C. Dentan, '32, who has been lecturing at Berkeley since 1938, came into residence as professor of Old Testament in the same year. The trio of Rose, Urban, and Dentan succeeded the long familiar trio of Ladd, Hedrick, and James, as the distinguished center of the Berkeley faculty.⁴³ Wartime conditions produced new programs. Summer sessions for accelerated study were held in 1942 and 1943, and the school's food supply was augmented by a Victory Garden in North Haven. Professor Urban was a vigorous director of air wardens for the neighborhood. Only ten students remained after the class

⁴²Berkeley alumni have become deans of three other seminaries—E. T. S. (Hodges), C. D. S. P. (Nichols), and Nashotah (Webb and Barry)—and former professors of three more: Sewanee (James), General (Rose), and Seabury-Western (F. C. Grant, who taught at Middletown in 1926-7).

⁴³The other present professors have come since 1943: E. R. Hardy (Church History) in 1944; E. J. Cook (New Testament) in 1948; T. S. Cline (Moral Theology), returning in 1949; F. C. Brown (Pastoral Theology) in 1953; R. L. Hicks (Old Testament), succeeding Dentan in 1954.

of 1944 graduated, but with that fall began the steady increase which has continued to the present. Three veterans who entered in January, 1946, finished their course by special summer work in two calendar years. The experiment was successful with excellent men, but the school is glad not to have been obliged to repeat it. Theological studies need to be inwardly digested as well as learned and marked, and summer activities, whether formal clinical training or of a more general character, can be of great advantage to the theological student. The series of English lecturers, interrupted during the war, was resumed in 1946 with Canon Demant of St. Paul's, London, now of Christ Church, Oxford. Dean Rose had wisely guided the school through wartime into the beginnings of new growth. Plans for expansion and new growth were being eagerly made when, in the spring of 1947, he felt bound to accept a call to the deanship of the General Seminary.

In the fall of that year, Professor Urban was chosen as his successor. As the number of students increased, the existing facilities were soon strained. In 1948, an important new building was acquired—the English House on Hillhouse Avenue, with land running through to Prospect; classrooms, offices, and library were moved to it from Williams Hall at 80 Sachem. Williams was turned into apartments for the growing number of married students, as was Prospect Hall, the dormitory from 1928 to 1940, repurchased in 1952. The students soon overflowed the 26 seats in the choir of the upstairs chapel, making it overcrowded and even unsafe. A brilliant piece of rebuilding in 1949 gave Berkeley its present chapel, with a choir of 78 student and 11 faculty stalls, combining in a straightforward modern design the simplicity of the "Upper Room" with the dignity of St. Luke's, Middletown. A centennial program of rebuilding began with the new kitchen and the reconstruction of the refectory in Brewster Hall in 1952. Berkeley's share of the recent "Builders for Christ" campaign is allocated to the first unit of a new library and administration building, which will meet a pressing need; the school hopes that its own centennial campaign will make the whole project possible, as well as providing for needed enlargement of the faculty.

During 1954, Berkeley has been celebrating its centennial year. The bishop of Connecticut, the Rt. Rev. Walter H. Gray, consecrated the chapel on May 3d, the anniversary of the granting of the charter. Thirty-three students were graduated in St. Thomas' Church, New Haven, on June 2d, the last two commencements having outgrown the school's own facilities. On the following day, in revival of the Berkeley ordinations at the parish church in Middletown, Bishop Gray, assisted

by eight other bishops of their respective dioceses, ordained sixteen of the graduates to the diaconate, in Trinity Church, New Haven. On October 26th, the Centennial Convocation filled Strathcona Hall at Yale. The speakers represented Berkeley's various origins and connections. The Presiding Bishop, Dr. Henry Knox Sherrill, spoke for the Church; President Albert C. Jacobs for Trinity; the bishop of Limerick, Dr. E. C. Hodges (the year's "English Lecturer," a position which as an Irishman he doubtless appreciated) for the Church of Ireland; and the provost of Yale brought greetings from the university.

The day of growth has come, and has been met in due loyalty to the spirit of Berkeley's founders and their successors. It is worth noting how much unplanned continuity there has been in many aspects of Berkeley's life. Academically, for instance, it has been marked from the beginning (without slighting other departments) by devout and scholarly teaching of the Old and New Testaments, by a great emphasis on the history of the Faith, and a constant interest in its expression in the worship of the Church. At New Haven, as at Middletown, it continues to be a close-knit community, which dares to think of itself as a Christian family engaged in a common activity of study and prayer; yet it maintains broad contacts with the work of the Church, for which its students are preparing, and with the life of the world, in and for which they must work. Living alumni include the bishops of Montana,⁴⁴ Idaho,⁴⁵ Kyoto,⁴⁶ and the Panama Canal Zone,⁴⁷ and the recently retired bishop of South Dakota.⁴⁸

So, for a century, Berkeley men have loyally answered the call to proclaim humbly and boldly, whether at home or in distant lands, the glorious Gospel of Christ.

⁴⁴HENRY H. DANIELS, bishop coadjutor of Montana, 1939-40; diocesan, since 1940.

⁴⁵FRANK A. RHEA, fifth missionary bishop of Idaho, 1942—.

⁴⁶MATTHIAS JIRO SASAKI, consecrated bishop of Kyoto, 1941.


⁴⁷REGINALD HEBER GOODEN, third missionary bishop of the Panama Canal Zone, 1945—.

⁴⁸WILLIAM BLAIR ROBERTS, suffragan bishop of the missionary district of South Dakota, 1922-1931; fifth missionary bishop of South Dakota, 1931-1954.

The Beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Missouri, 1819-1844

By Charles F. Rehkopf*

"St. Louis—The Rev. Mr. Ward, an Episcopal Clergyman from Lexington, Ky., will preach in the Baptist Meeting House on next Sabbath. Divine service to begin at 11 o'clock."

O ran a notice in the *Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser* on October 6, 1819. And so began the work of The Episcopal Church in the territory now known as the state of Missouri. This was certainly not a very auspicious beginning—but it was a beginning.

In the year 1803, when the Louisiana Purchase made the lands now included in the state of Missouri a part of the United States, the population of the future state was 8,570 (including slaves, but not Indians.) In 1821, when Missouri Territory became the 24th State of the Union, the population had grown to 70,647 (including 11,254 slaves); and twenty years later, when the Episcopalians in this state had organized themselves into the diocese of Missouri, the state could claim 383,702 people within its borders.

This rate of growth, while somewhat slower than that of other states nearby, was typical of most of what is now called the "Middle West" in what has been described as one of the greatest migrations in history.¹

The Protestant Episcopal Church benefitted from that migration and shared in that growth, although at times it must have seemed discouraging to many to see the slowness with which the Church took advantage of it.

The story of the Episcopal Church in Missouri before the coming of Bishop Kemper in 1835 is the story of Christ Church, now Christ Church Cathedral, in St. Louis.

St. Louis was a sleepy French village when the United States took possession of Louisiana Territory in 1803 and 1804. Situated

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—Editor's note.

¹For a summary of "The Great Migration," see Walter H. Stowe, "A Turning Point: The General Convention of 1835," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, IV (1935), 152-53.

on the edge of the wilderness, civilization stopped with the boundaries of the village, and the unexplored west belonged to the Indians and the buffalo. The community, and one like it some miles to the south, St. Genevieve, depended for its support mainly on the fur trade, and it was only at intervals that the town was enlivened by the return of the trappers and the activities and festivities of the trade. So few were the transactions with the outer world that a certain year is famed as the year in which nine keel boats arrived. The irruption into such a community of large numbers of energetic and ambitious young Americans in 1804, following the cession, was like the inrush of a clear mountain stream into the placid waters of a pond; it brought life and energy and ambitious outlook into St. Louis.

The spiritual welfare of the French and Spanish inhabitants had not been neglected. The Jesuit missionaries had established a church and school soon after the arrival of Laclède in 1764, and the foundations were early laid for the religious and secular education of their flock. The Protestant churches did not immediately follow the flag, and it was ten or fifteen years after their arrival before any attempt was made to give religious shepherding to the Protestant American immigrants into St. Louis and vicinity.

The Founding of Christ Church, Saint Louis

Among the first American arrivals was a young Virginian of good family and strong affiliations. Thomas Fiveash Riddick came to St. Louis in 1804, and soon proved his value to the United States and to St. Louis in various public offices. As a good churchman, he deplored the lack of Church ministrations for his Episcopal brethren in St. Louis; and their destitute spiritual condition was the subject of discussion and correspondence between him and the nearest clergyman of the Church, the Rev. John Ward² of Christ Church, Lexington, Kentucky. Mr.

²The Rev. JOHN WARD (Sept. 12, 1779—May 2, 1860) was a native of Connecticut, and was ordained by Bishop Abraham Jarvis: deacon, Dec. 1, 1805; priest, Oct. 11, 1807. He was assistant minister and schoolmaster in Trinity Church, Newport, R. I., 1805-1810, under the Rev. Theodore Dehon (later bishop of South Carolina). Ward's other cures were:

St. Michael's Church, Trenton, N. J., 1811-1813.

Christ Church, Lexington, Ky., 1813-1819.

Christ Church, St. Louis, Mo., 1819-1821.

Following his return to Lexington, Ky., he conducted a coeducational school, beginning in 1821, for many years, and was an assistant minister of Christ Church there under Bishop Benjamin B. Smith. [See Elizabeth K. Smith and Mary LeG. Didlake, *Christ Church, 1796-1946* (Lexington, Ky., 1946), pp. 7ff.]

Ward's interest in the situation was aroused, and he came to St. Louis in 1819 to look over the field. He found a growing community of about 4,000 inhabitants with a number of interested Episcopalians. Although he was advertised to hold a service in the Baptist meeting house early in October, it is not known whether he was able to do so. Taken sick soon after his arrival, he is not known to have held a service until October 24, when a number of persons assembled in a one-story frame building on the southeast corner of Second and Walnut Streets, a building which we are told was used occasionally for holding court and for public dances. Only two persons seem to have possessed Books of Common Prayer and were able to take their proper part in the service—Messrs. James Clemens and Joseph V. Garnier. In this first service of the Episcopal Church west of the Mississippi River, the Rev. Mr. Ward baptized two daughters of Colonel and Mrs. Riddick, Mr. Clemens being godfather for them.

During the following week, Colonel Riddick collected all the persons who by membership or preference were interested in the formation of a parish of the Episcopal Church in St. Louis, and on All Saints' Day, November 1, 1819, at a meeting in his store on Main Street between Walnut and Elm, Christ Church Parish came into being. Elected to the vestry were: Messrs. Thomas F. Riddick, Wilson P. Hunt,³ Samuel Hammond,⁴ Henry Von Phul, James Kennerly, James Clemens, jr., William Stokes, Joseph V. Garnier, A. Rutgers, and Frederick F. Dent.⁵ Mr. Ward was elected rector of the parish in a meeting of the vestry held shortly afterward.

Among the names signed to the Articles of Association (written in the hand of Colonel Riddick) were those of William Clark,⁶ governor of Missouri Territory; Alexander McNair,⁷ soon to become

³WILSON PRICE HUNT (1782?-1842) was the commander of the Astoria overland expedition, 1810-1812, and on his return to St. Louis became a prosperous business man. Postmaster of St. Louis, 1822-1840. [See *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 398.]

⁴SAMUEL HAMMOND (1757-1842) was a Revolutionary soldier, territorial governor of Missouri, and banker. He left Missouri in 1824 for South Carolina. [See *D. A. B.*, VIII, 209.]

⁵FREDERICK F. DENT (1786-1873) was a lawyer, merchant, and wealthy. He was the father of Julia Dent, wife of U. S. Grant, and of Frederick Tracy Dent (1821-1892). [See *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, 143.]

⁶WILLIAM CLARK (1770-1838), of the famous Lewis and Clark Expedition, was a brother of George Rogers Clark, and governor of Missouri Territory. [See *D. A. B.*, IV, 141ff.]

⁷ALEXANDER MCNAIR (1775-1826) went to Missouri in 1804. He was the first governor of the state of Missouri, 1820-24. [See *D. A. B.*, XII, 147.]

the state's first governor; Thomas H. Benton,⁸ later United States senator; William Carr Lane,⁹ the first mayor of St. Louis, and about forty others of the foremost citizens of St. Louis.

The perfecting of an organization did not assure its success. The congregation continued to meet in the room where it first had met, providing furniture for religious worship. Mr. Ward remained for some eighteen months and then returned to Lexington, with the intention of being absent but a short time. Three months elapsed, and on July 5, 1821, he wrote that he would not be able to return. The result of this action was that on August 21, the room was surrendered and the furniture disposed of to the Methodist Society. The interruption to the services was well nigh a death blow to the infant parish. So serious was the issue that, from the records of the vestry, no meeting was held after June 1, 1822, until a call was made for a parish meeting to assemble in the Methodist meeting house on December 2, 1825, for the purpose of electing wardens and vestrymen. Here is a period of three years and six months, making, with the previous three months of Mr. Ward's absence, a lapse of nearly four years without the services of the church, save two or three chance visits of clergymen, one of whom is reported to have been the Rev. Amos G. Baldwin¹⁰ of Western New York.

The *Spirit of Missions* for March, 1837, contains this item:

"In the spring of 1823, the Clergyman who had been sent out by the Domestic and Foreign Society to collect information and otherwise act as its agent, arrived in St. Louis and spent about a month in that city and its vicinity. The former congregation in a measure rallied, and effort was made to secure the means for the support of a Clergyman, and the Agent left the State under the belief that a Missionary who should be sent thither would be almost entirely sustained by the people to whom he should minister."

The missionary was not sent. It was like beginning the work of organization anew, with the disadvantage that some who had identified

⁸THOMAS HART BENTON (1782-1858) moved to Missouri in 1815 and was at this time editor of the *Missouri Enquirer*, and enjoying a lucrative law practice. The next year, 1820, he was elected to the United States Senate, and became a distinguished statesman. [See *D. A. B.*, II, 210-213.]

⁹WILLIAM CARR LANE (1789-1863) was a physician who, in 1823, became the first mayor of St. Louis. The voters were so pleased with him that "they reelected him annually five times, and nine years later, after they had called him to fill an unexpired term, reelected him twice more—a record unequalled in St. Louis history." In 1852 he was appointed governor of New Mexico Territory. [See *D. A. B.*, X, 583.]

¹⁰THE REV. AMOS G. BALDWIN (d. December 25, 1844, aged 66). [See George E. DeMille, *History of the Diocese of Albany* (Philadelphia, 1946), p. 46.]

themselves with the parish at first, had become discouraged and united themselves with other bodies.

The call for the election of wardens and vestrymen seems to have been occasioned by the visit of the Rev. Thomas Horrell¹¹ of Virginia in the fall of 1825. Mr. Horrell had been sent by the Missionary Society to investigate the possibilities of missionary work in the new state, and seems to have spent nearly a year in Jackson before he arrived in St. Louis. Respectable congregations attended upon the ministrations of the word and sacraments in Fredericktown, Potosi, and Herculaneum, but no parish was formed in any of these places. There is no record that he was formally invited to take charge of Christ Church at this time, but at a meeting of the vestry held January 31, 1826, Mr. Horrell presided, and an arrangement was made by which the Parish of Christ Church was entitled to use the Methodist meeting house on alternative Sundays. It also appears that services were held occasionally in the Baptist meeting house on the corner of Third and Market Streets.

New life seems to have been infused among the few whose hearts had been so long despondent; and we find that at this same meeting Mr. James Clemens, jr., was appointed to act as agent in the East in collecting means for the erection of a church building. His mission proved unsuccessful. It is reported that he called upon the venerable Bishop White in Philadelphia, and after advising with him, received such a discouraging reply that he determined to make no further attempt.

Later that year, June 24, at a vestry meeting it was resolved to purchase a lot on the northwest corner of Third and Chestnut Streets, now occupied by the Merchants Exchange Building, for the sum of \$400 from the Messrs. Lucas and Hunt. A plan was approved and a contract made with Messrs. Laveille and Morton for the erection of a building. At this same meeting Mr. Horrell was invited to become the rector of the parish. The amount of his salary is not stated, but it is known that during the time of building of the church his only income was that of a missionary sent by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the national Church. He was obliged to draw upon his private purse to make up deficiencies.

¹¹The Rev. THOMAS HORRELL (d. 1850, aged 60) had been ordered deacon, August 3, 1814, by Bishop Claggett of Maryland. Service in Maryland and Virginia had preceded his ministry in Missouri. During the late 1830's and early 1840's, he served in southern Ohio and Tennessee, and returned to Missouri about 1844, where he died.

The church building was completed in 1829 at a cost of about \$7,000, of which \$1,300 was contributed by Mr. Clemens, a not inconsiderable sum for those days. To complete the building and its furnishings, a loan of \$1,100 was negotiated in October, 1830, at an interest rate of ten per cent. This building is described in the parish records as "a small brick edifice with a cupola in the center, and looking more like an academy than a church building." It contained forty-eight pews which were sold to the public on a "Thursday in November." General William H. Ashley¹² was the first purchaser, receiving the contract for pew No. 30. The Missouri Historical Society collection of Ashley papers contains the deed to this pew, an agreement whereby Mr. Ashley agreed to pay the sum of five dollars per year for the use of it.

Mr. Horrell resigned on March 22, 1831, and a highly complimentary resolution was passed by the vestry, adding "that to his unwearied exertions and great pecuniary sacrifices, under Providence, we are immeasurably indebted for the property we now enjoy."

Following Mr. Horrell's resignation, the Rev. John Davis,¹³ who conducted a school in the city, officiated for some three months. He was followed by the Rev. L. H. Corson,¹⁴ a missionary from Connecticut, who remained about a year and then returned to the East.

At a vestry meeting on March 5, 1832, the Rev. Nicholas H. Cobbs,¹⁵ afterwards first bishop of Alabama, was elected rector. In the letter of invitation to him we read:

"We have a neat little church in the center of the city, containing 48 pews, and a gallery at one end, in which we have a most excellent organ. Our city contains about 6,000 inhabi-

¹²WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY (c. 1778-1838) was a famous fur trader and explorer. Congressman from Missouri, 1831-1837. [See *D. A. B.*, I, 391.]

¹³The Rev. JOHN DAVIS had been ordained deacon, December 23, 1825, by Bishop William White of Pennsylvania, and was never priested. After some service as a missionary of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, he became "principal of a Female Academy" in St. Louis. Sometime prior to the General Convention of 1835, Bishop White deposed him. [See *General Convention Journal*, 1835, Perry's reprints, Vol. II, p. 589.]

¹⁴The Rev. LEVI HANNAFORD CORSON (July 3, 1801-Feb. 23, 1884) was born in Saco, Maine, graduated from Trinity College, Hartford, and was ordained by Bishop Thomas C. Brownell of Connecticut: deacon, January 16, 1831; priest, in 1833. Although Corson's ministry in Missouri was short, and he returned to Windham, Connecticut, he gave the best years of his life to Western missionary fields—in the diocese of Western New York, and for nearly thirty years as rector of Grace Church, Jonesville, Michigan. [See *Church Almanac*, 1885, p. 103.]

¹⁵NICHOLAS HAMNER COBBS (Feb. 5, 1795-Jan. 11, 1861), first bishop of Alabama, 1844-1861. [See G. White, *A Saint of the Southern Church*, *Memoir of . . . N. H. Cobbs* (New York, 1900) p. 183.]

tants, and from its local situation is undoubtedly destined to be the largest city in the West."

Mr. Cobbs declined the call—the reason not stated.

In September, 1832, the Rev. William Chaderton¹⁶ of Philadelphia was called to the parish and accepted. He at once opened in proper form a parish register and made suitable record of all his official acts, and from this time there is no difficulty in tracing as far as statistics go, the growth of the parish in temporal and spiritual things. The record of his first official act was that of conducting a funeral.

During Mr. Chaderton's time, the building was consecrated. This is an act performed only by a bishop, and presumably the delay was caused by the difficulty of procuring the services of a bishop. However, on May 25, 1834, Christ Church was consecrated by the Rt. the Rev. Benjamin Bosworth Smith,¹⁷ bishop of Kentucky, who in the same service confirmed 26 persons, this being the first confirmation service and the first consecration of an Episcopal Church building west of the Mississippi and north of New Orleans.

In June, 1835, Chaderton resigned the rectorship, and three months later wrote a letter to Bishop William White which shows pretty clearly how ill prepared The Episcopal Church was to meet the challenge of the frontier. That there were too few clergymen is well understood. That the few who were available were not well trained for frontier work is also clear, if Chaderton is right about the "indispensable qualifications, which the genius of the people of the Western Country would seem to require of the clergy": extempore preaching and "great freedom in social intercourse." The letter is worth quoting in full.

¹⁶The Rev. WILLIAM CHADERTON is something of a mystery. We do not know whence he came, who ordained him, or where he finally went. He was connected with the diocese of Pennsylvania, and in 1826 was residing in Bristol, Pa., and conducted a school. In 1830 he was called to be rector of St. Michael's Church, Trenton, New Jersey, but declined the call. His removal to St. Louis in 1832 followed. In 1835 he accepted a call from the vestry in Northampton, Mass., and in 1837 Bishop Griswold of the Eastern Diocese reported to his convention:

"At the time of my last address [1836] we had reason to hope that the Church in Northampton, under the ministry of Mr. Chaderton, would increase and prosper; but immediately after Easter, he unexpectedly left." [Eastern Diocese, *Journal*, 1837, p. 9.]

Chaderton may have been ordained in England or Canada, and may have returned to either of those countries.

¹⁷BENJAMIN BOSWORTH SMITH (June 13, 1794-May 31, 1884), first bishop of Kentucky, 1832-1884, and ninth Presiding Bishop, 1868-1884. [See W. Robert Insko, "Bishop B. B. Smith Number," *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XXII(1953), pp. 143-228.]

LETTER OF THE REVEREND WILLIAM CHADERTON TO
BISHOP WILLIAM WHITE¹⁸St Louis, Mo. Sep. 23rd 1835Right Rev^d Sir,

I feel it my duty to announce to you, that I have resigned the Rectorship of Christ Church, in this City. The principal motive by which I have been induced to take this step, was a consciousness of my deficiency in respect of those popular talents and manners, especially extemporaneous eloquence, and great freedom in social intercourse, which the genius of the people of the Western Country would seem to require of the clergy, almost as indispensable qualifications—The Vestry have replied to my communication on this subject in a most respectful and delicate style, very grateful to my feelings.

I have also to inform you, that since this occurrence, I have received an invitation from the Vestry of the Church in Northampton, Massachusetts, to take charge of the Congregation there, which I have deemed it my duty to accept.

Suffer my intrusion for a few moments longer, whilst I declare to you, Right Rev. Father, my high consideration of the wisdom, piety, and charity, evinced by the grand Council of the Church, at which you recently presided, in the appointment of the Missionary Bishops for the desolate regions of the West. This transaction should be hailed by the whole Church as the commencement of a most glorious era in our history; and, in anticipation of the blessed consequences, of which, doubtless, it will be abundantly fruitful, the heart of every one of us should be penetrated with the deepest gratitude to Almighty God.

Most heartily do I thank God, that Dr Kemper, whom I respect and venerate as a truly apostolic man, is to be the Bishop of this diocese, and also my successor—as you will have learned, before this letter reaches you—in the rectorship of the Church in this place.

With the utmost respect,

I am,

Right Rev^d Sir,

Your most dutiful,

And most obedient servant,

W. CHADERTON.

The Right Rev.
Bishop White.

¹⁸The original letter is in the library of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia.

The General Convention of 1835

On August 19, 1835, the triennial General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church met in Philadelphia. The Episcopal Church looked West to see what was happening in its hinterland. It saw what was a challenge. It saw a great migration westward from the seaboard states, and it saw the beginnings of migration of peoples from Europe: British, Germans, French, and later, nations of South-east Europe. It saw also little groups of Episcopalians struggling for organization and leadership; and it saw other groups of leaderless people as sheep going astray without a shepherd.

For fifty-two years, since the close of the Revolutionary War, the Episcopal Church had been occupied in reorganizing itself, reforming its ranks, and preparing to take once again its full share in the life of the nation. By 1835 it was ready. As early as 1820, a missionary society had been formed to raise money through dues-paying members to send missionaries both abroad and into the areas of new settlement on this continent. But it was not until 1835 that the Church realized that *she herself* is the *missionary* society, and by the terms of his baptismal vow every Christian is a member of this society. This view was set forth in a notable sermon by the Rt. Rev. George Washington Doane of New Jersey,¹⁹ and adopted by the Convention.

Having clearly seen its duty to spread the Gospel, the Convention then proceeded to elect a missionary bishop, Jackson Kemper,²⁰

"a Bishop *sent forth* by the Church, *not sought for* of the Church; going before to organize the Church, not waiting till the Church has partially been organized; a leader, not a follower, in the march of the Redeemer's conquering and triumphant Gospel . . . sent by the Church, even as the Church is sent by Christ,"

as Bishop Doane so eloquently said.

Jackson Kemper was then aged forty-six, a native of Pleasant Valley, New York, and a graduate of Columbia College. He studied theology under Bishop John Henry Hobart, and was ordained by Bishop William White of Pennsylvania, who later was to consecrate

¹⁹GEORGE WASHINGTON DOANE (May 27, 1799-April 27, 1859) was the second bishop of New Jersey, 1832-1859. His sermon, "The Missionary Bishop," is reprinted in full in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, IV(1935), 180-194. [See *D. A. B.*, V, 333-34.]

²⁰JACKSON KEMPER (Dec. 24, 1789-May 24, 1870), first *official* missionary bishop of the Episcopal Church, 1835-1859; first diocesan bishop of Wisconsin, 1859-1870. [See "Bishop Kemper Number," *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, IV(1935), pp. 129-244.]

him bishop. Bishop Kemper was chosen to exercise episcopal functions in Indiana and Missouri; and set out immediately for his new work.

Shortly after his election, and before his consecration, the vestry of Christ Church, St. Louis, learned of the action of the General Convention, and immediately took steps to secure his residence in St. Louis. He was elected rector of Christ Church with the understanding that the Missionary Society would pay the salary of an assistant minister. A young deacon, the Rev. P. R. Minard,²¹ was chosen and preceded the bishop to St. Louis by about a month.

Bishop Kemper left Philadelphia with the Rev. Samuel R. Johnson on November 3, 1835, and having given his family into the care of relatives, proceeded by way of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Madison (Indiana), and Louisville (Kentucky), arriving in St. Louis on December 19th. He wrote that he had ridden the latter part of the way in "an open waggon with trunks for seats, passing through a marsh called *Purgatory*, and crossing a river named *Embarrass*, and being allowed time for but one meal in 24 hours." The bishop then went on to write: "I preached in my new church yesterday, December 20, 1835 . . . The houses here are low, very small, and rather scarce." He preached again on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day, and the following Sunday; and on the last day of the year, started for Illinois to do duty for Bishop Chase, who was then in England raising funds for a new college. On February 5, 1836, Bishop Kemper wrote a friend,

"You wish to be furnished with a statement showing the number of Churches under my charge. The only one in Missouri is Christ Church, St. Louis, of which I am Rector. In Indiana there is 'not one.'"

²¹PETER RICHMOND MINARD (d. 1846) was a graduate of Brown University, 1827, and was apparently a mature person when he took orders: deacon, July 24, 1835, by Bishop Griswold of the Eastern Diocese. He was attending the General Theological Seminary at the time of his ordination, but did not graduate. The report of the committee on the state of the Church in Missouri to the General Convention of 1847 stated:

"This Report should not be closed without a passing tribute of respect to the memory of one of the oldest and most devoted Missionaries in the West. The Rev. P. R. Minard . . . continued to labor in winning disciples to Christ, with faithfulness and perseverance rarely equalled, up to the time of his death. His path was through self-denials voluntarily endured, and difficulties cheerfully encountered, for the cause he loved, as well as through many afflictions sent to try the constancy of his faith; it has ended, we trust, where the humble are exalted, the faithful crowned, and the afflicted receive 'a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.'" [General Convention, *Journal*, 1847, pp. 195-196.]

Such was his first view of his field. Missouri, admitted to the Union in 1821, now had in the neighborhood of 300,000 people. Christ Church had been organized in 1819, but most of the time had been without a clergyman. No permanent foundation had been made elsewhere. Kemper found Christ Church vacant, became the rector, and, as we have said, secured the assistance of the Rev. Mr. Minard to administer the parish in his absence.

The Rise and Fall of Kemper College

For several months the bishop kept his headquarters in St. Louis, making several trips up the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. At the request of Bishop Philander Chase, he made a number of trips into Illinois to perform episcopal functions. In the summer of 1836, he visited the East for money. He had already come to the conclusion that the only hope of supplying the West with clergy was to provide means for their training at home. So his main purpose was to raise funds for an institution to be founded in Missouri. He was successful in raising \$20,000; enough for a beginning, and in the fall a board of trustees for the proposed college was formed. The legislature objected to the name "Missouri College" in view of a possible state university, so the layman who had the business in hand changed the name to "Kemper College" without consulting the bishop, and the charter was granted January 6, 1837. The school opened the following year with a grammar department. By 1840, college classes were begun and the institution owned its own building, though a considerable debt had been incurred in its construction. The Rev. S. A. Crane²² was the first president, succeeded in 1841 by the Rev. E. C. Hutchinson.²³ The

²²SILAS AXTED CRANE (Oct. 21, 1799-July 16, 1872) was born in Berkley, Mass., and graduated from Brown University in 1823. He was a tutor in that institution until his ordination to the diaconate on July 15, 1830, by Bishop Griswold of the Eastern Diocese, and in 1831, priest, by the same bishop. Following his rectorship in Middlebury, Vermont, 1831-1837, he accepted a professorship in Bishop John Henry Hopkins' theological seminary at Burlington, together with ministrations in churches of the neighborhood. In 1839 he removed to Missouri as first president of Kemper College, but in 1841 accepted the rectorship of St. Luke's Church, East Greenwich, Rhode Island, which he served until his death. In 1855, he received from his *alma mater* the degree of Doctor of Divinity. [See W. Updike and D. Goodwin, *History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, Rhode Island* (Boston, 1907), p. 422.]

²³ELEAZAR CARTER HUTCHINSON (d. July 27, 1876) was ordered deacon in December, 1839, by Bishop Meade of Virginia. After the failure of Kemper College, Hutchinson served St. George's Church, St. Louis, and, later, Trinity Church in the same city. He died at Saratoga Springs, New York, "a presbyter of Missouri" [See *Church Almanac*, 1877, p. 90.]

Rev. Henry Caswall²⁴ arrived as professor of divinity, but with no theological students he found himself serving as college chaplain. Kemper College flourished for a few years. In 1841, an agreement was reached whereby Dr. McDowell's Medical School became the medical department of the college, giving added prestige to both. But the burden of debt and disagreements among trustees, Kemper's successor, and a new president caused its collapse in 1845. Upon learning this, Kemper wrote that the end of the college "has almost broken my heart." The medical school continued on under the supervision of Dr. McDowell.

The only tangible survival of Kemper College was its library, which is now part of the library of the Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, Evanston, Illinois. Its story is of particular interest. In the spring of 1841, while in Canada, the Rev. Henry Caswall received the call from Bishop Kemper to be professor of theology in the newly founded college. He made a hurried trip to England that summer, and during a little more than two months—July and August, 1841—he met with great encouragement in collecting books for its library:

"At Oxford several large packages of valuable theological works were presented to me; the venerable Archbishop [William Howley] and several other Prelates volunteered their generous contributions; and from many parts of the country, as well as from Churchmen of different schools, I received

²⁴HENRY CASWALL (1810-Dec. 17, 1870) was born in England, the son of the Rev. R. C. Caswall, of West Lavington, near Devizes, Wiltshire. His coming to America in 1828, at the age of eighteen, was the by-product of Bishop Philander Chase's visit to England in 1823 in search of funds for the establishment of Kenyon College in Ohio. Young Caswall was graduated from Kenyon in 1830, but was not ordained deacon by Bishop Chase until June 12, 1831, when he reached the canonical age of twenty-one. On July 2, 1837, he was ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Kemper. His other academic honors were: Kenyon, M. A., 1834; Oxford, M. A., 1854; Trinity College, Hartford, D. D., 1854. He married a niece of Bishop Chase.

Caswall served in Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Canada, Missouri, and England. His particular preparation for his Kemper College post was his three years' service, 1834-1837, as professor of sacred literature in the newly founded Theological Seminary in Lexington, Kentucky, and as Bishop Smith's assistant in Christ Church, Lexington.

During his visit to England in 1842, the disabilities of his American ordination were removed by a private act of Parliament, and in 1843 he became vicar of Figheldean, Wiltshire; proctor for the diocese of Sarum; and prebendary of Salisbury. Caswall was a great traveller. He visited the United States in 1854, and again in 1868. During this latter visit he died in Franklin, Pennsylvania.

Caswall's special importance to historians rests upon his book, *America and the American Church* (1st ed., London, 1839; 2d ed., London, 1851)—a helpful source book of the period.

[See *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, I, 556.]

substantial tokens of interest in the spiritual welfare of the West."²⁵

Leaving Liverpool on September 16, 1841, Caswall arrived in St. Louis exactly two months later, and the books arrived before Christmas:

"I took great pleasure in arranging them, with a view to the future instruction of the expected candidates. I knew that, even in the event of a foreclosure of the mortgage, the library at least was safe; and that, though College and land might be swept away, these stores of learning would remain the property of the Western Church, and would, in due time, produce their fruit."²⁶

Prophetic words! In the spring of 1842, "it was resolved that a great effort should be put forth to place Kemper College on a respectable footing," and Caswall was deputed to spend one year in Europe in the interest of enlarging the library, "and the securing of any further assistance which circumstances might offer."²⁷ Accordingly, he left St. Louis with his family on April 30th, embarked from New York on May 21st, and arrived in Liverpool on June 20th.

"By the assistance of the Archbishop [Howley], the Bishops of London [Charles J. Blomfield] and Salisbury [Edward Denison], and many other kind and enlightened Churchmen, I succeeded in obtaining within a year a collection of valuable books, besides other useful donations for our College in Missouri."²⁸

Bishop Henry Benjamin Whipple of Minnesota characterized this collection of books as a "valuable library," and it was the beginning of the library of Seabury Divinity School, Faribault, Minnesota. When Kemper College failed, St. Paul's College, Palmyra, Missouri, "became heir to these rare books." During the Civil War, this latter college also failed, and the library was "again sold to private individuals to liquidate debts." "It was unexpectedly offered" to Bishop Whipple, who felt that it was proper to appeal to the Church to aid him in the purchase of it—so he reported to the Minnesota diocesan convention of 1864.²⁹

²⁵H. Caswall, *America and the American Church*, 2d ed., p. 274.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 310.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 329.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 381.

²⁹Henry B. Whipple, *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate* (New York, 1900) p. 198; George C. Tanner, *Fifty Years of Church Work in the Diocese of Minnesota, 1857-1907* (St. Paul, 1909), p. 274.

"Among other interesting books," says Bishop Whipple, "was one given by John Henry Newman, in which he had written, 'This book was bought for me at Leipsic, by Pusey.'" This was undoubtedly one of the books in the Oxford collection, obtained by Caswall on his first solicitation in 1841, while Newman was still at Oxford.

In 1933, when Seabury Divinity School and Western Theological Seminary merged to form the present Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, the Kemper College collection was moved to Evanston with the rest of the library, where it now is. "These stores of learning" have indeed remained "the property of the Western Church," and, it is to be hoped, are still producing "their fruit."

Episcopal Visitations

Reading Bishop Kemper's *Journals* and other papers, of which there are great quantities, one gains the impression that he was a man of great physical stamina as well as one possessed of administrative ability and spiritual strength. There were giants in those days—men had to be giants to exist on the frontier. In the fall of 1837, the bishop travelled west and visited Fort Leavenworth in Kansas where he baptized an army officer's child. Of this trip he wrote,

"I have now experienced a little of western adventure, and really entered into it with much more spirit and enjoyment than I could have imagined . . . Shall I tell you how we were benighted and how we lost our way, of the deep creeks we forded and the bad bridges we crossed—how we were drenched to the skin and how we were wading for half an hour in a slough, and the accidents which arose from the stumbling of our horses, etc? But these events were matters of course . . . What a proof of sluggishness of our movements is the fact that, so far as I can learn, I am the first Clergyman of our Church who has preached at Columbia, Boonville, Fayette, Richmond, Lexington, Independence, and Fort Leavenworth—in a word, I have been the pioneer from St. Charles up the Missouri! At several places I met with some Episcopalians; but in every place I found immortal and intelligent beings—everywhere I beheld extensive harvests with very few reapers."

His first visitation of the state was begun in March of 1836. He found the weather most inclement and the roads almost impassable. He reached Hannibal by steamer. Writing during the trip he said, "I slept nine nights on board, and will, perhaps, be obliged to do so two or three more; for the river is full of ice and we cannot travel."

He was detained in Hannibal for a week, visiting also Palmyra and Quincy. Returning for a few days to St. Louis, he visited St. Charles where he was especially pleased with the promising prospects of the Church and requested his assistant, the Rev. Mr. Minard, to organize a parish there.

The Rev. Augustus Fitch³⁰ was sent as a missionary to St. Charles by the Board of Missions, and arrived in December, 1836. He reported that during the winter he suffered many privations, but with the coming of spring he was encouraged with the prospect of success. At his own expense, he fitted up a building for use as a church and organized a Sunday school. Mr. Fitch left the following year and the work there ceased until December, 1839, when the Rev. Isaac Smith³¹ was sent as a missionary. He found much had been lost, but felt there was still a silent growing interest which would result in something permanent. Services were held in a school operated by one of the women of the town, and the first baptism took place on March 22, 1840.

During the next winter, Bishop Kemper engaged in an extended episcopal visitation to Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. He then spent part of the summer in Wisconsin Territory, overseeing

³⁰AUGUSTUS FITCH (died Nov. 16, 1874) was a teacher who was ordered deacon by Bishop Hobart of New York on May 26, 1818. He continued his teaching and remained a deacon for something over ten years, but in 1832 is listed as "Rector of St. Ann's Church, and Principal of an Academy at Bloomingdale, New York" (General Convention, *Journal*, 1832, p. 142). After his brief ministry in St. Charles, Missouri, he returned to New York and took up residence in Tompkinsville, Staten Island, for several years.

Fitch's chief claim to distinction is that he was one of the first two clergymen (Flavel S. Mines was the other) to begin holding regular public services of the Episcopal Church in San Francisco on July 8 and 22, 1849 [D. O. Kelley, *History of the Diocese of California*, (San Francisco, 1915), p. 7]. Kelley also states (p. 10):

"The Rev. Augustus Fitch, an elderly priest, who had come over from the Sandwich Islands but had as yet no regular work, was here."

Fitch was the permanent president of the famous "California Convention of 1850" (*ibid.*, p. 11). He was apparently in California from 1849 to 1852 (*ibid.*, p. 405), and he was a member of the first Standing Committee (*ibid.*, p. 442).

The General Convention *Journals* henceforth list Fitch as residing in New York, with no cure mentioned, until his death.

³¹ISAAC SMITH (died of epilepsy, April 20, 1855) was graduated from the General Theological Seminary in the class of 1833, and was ordered deacon on July 7th of that year by Bishop Brownell of Connecticut. In 1835 he was a missionary of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania—at Muncey and Sunbury. Missouri: 1839-1842.

On January 23, 1842, Smith began his ministry in Spotswood, New Jersey, and from 1848 until his death, in Piscataway, near New Brunswick. Bishop George W. Doane described him as "saintly" (Diocese of New Jersey, *Journal*, "Bishop's Address," pp. 27-28.)

the work of the Church as it began to develop there. As opportunity offered, he visited also in Kansas, Iowa and Minnesota. Of his first eleven years in the episcopate, it is reported that he had no home. One finds it difficult to understand how he ever accomplished anything, so tremendous was his job and so wide the territory.

But he was successful. Before he died in Wisconsin in 1870, he saw well-organized dioceses in every state he had visited: Indiana, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, and finally, Wisconsin, which became his home after 1846, and of which he was diocesan from 1859 until his death. A grand old missionary he was—even on his death bed directing the view of the Church to the West. Certainly a worthy successor to St. Paul!

We now return to the story of Christ Church, St. Louis, which Bishop Kemper found without a minister in 1835. He solved this vacancy by becoming the rector and using a younger man as the pastor of the congregation in his absence. During the summer of 1836, a young lawyer from Michigan passed through St. Louis on business, and as was his custom attended Church service. He wrote later:

"I recollect that the church stood on the outskirts of the town. It was an humble edifice and had very little that was attractive in appearance within or without; but a good and attentive congregation was in attendance and a faithful priest was ministering to them."

In less than twenty years the writer of that statement became the rector of Christ Church and served the parish and later the cathedral for forty-two years. The name of the Rev. Montgomery Schuyler³² became a household word in St. Louis.

Under the spiritual inspiration of the bishop and with the careful pastoral ministrations of his assistant, the congregation of Christ Church soon outgrew its building on Third Street. In 1839, a larger building was erected on the southwest corner of Broadway and Chestnut. This building served until after the Civil War, when the present beautiful structure was erected on the corner of 13th and Locust Streets.

In March, 1839, Bishop Kemper announced to the congregation of Christ Church that a body of Lutherans, who had been previously persecuted by the government of Saxony, had arrived in St. Louis about

³²MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER (Jan. 9, 1814-March 19, 1896) was born in New York City, and was graduated from Union College in 1834. He studied and practiced law until his ordination as a deacon on May 18, 1841, by Bishop McCoskry of Michigan. Rector, Trinity Church, Marshall, Michigan, 1841-1844; Grace Church, Lyons, New York, 1844-1845; St. John's Church, Buffalo, New York, 1845-1854; Dean, Christ Church Cathedral, St. Louis, 1854-1896. [See *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, V. 430.]

three months before and, desiring to hold services of their own, he had offered them the use of the church. This German congregation continued to worship in the basement of the church until 1842, when they were able to erect their own building. Upon leaving Christ Church,, they tendered to the parish officials an elaborate resolution of gratitude. Thus ecumenical relations began early in this congregation and have continued to this day.

Christ Church, finding the need for a burial ground, purchased a large lot for the sum of \$3,000 in 1839, and took steps to lay out and landscape the grounds for a cemetery.

Parishes Organized under Bishop Kemper

The second parish to be organized in Missouri was at Boonville. When the bishop looked over the map and the work before him, he put his finger on this town near the center of the state and decided it was the central point for Church work in the interior. He first visited there in April, 1836. As he described it, "It is a pretty looking town, with many of its houses built of brick and about 900 inhabitants." Upon his recommendation, the Rev. F. F. Peake³³ was appointed missionary here by the Board in New York. Mr. Peake was in deacon's orders, and immediately left for his post. The journey occupied four weeks and he arrived on November 8, finding one Episcopalian in the town to welcome him. Mr. Peake's reports to the office in New York are voluminous and descriptive. In Boonville, he organized a Sunday school. Services were held in the court house, though he reported that the place was uncomfortable in cold weather. Not content with Boonville alone, he visited Fayette, where he found several Church people and began services there.

By the middle of 1837, the promise of success in Boonville caused the Domestic Committee in New York to send an additional missionary to the field. Mr. Peake moved to Fayette, and the Rev. P. T. Babbitt³⁴

³³FREDERICK FOOTE PEAKE (died July 21, 1847) graduated from the General Theological Seminary in the class of 1836, and was ordered deacon on July 3rd of that year by Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk of New York. Following his ministry in Missouri, 1836-1843, he removed to Pensacola, Florida, and died there.

³⁴PIERRE TELLER BABBITT (Feb. 12, 1811-April 1, 1881) was born in New York City, and graduated from Yale in 1831, and the General Theological Seminary in 1836. Deacon, July 3, 1836, and priest, May 4, 1837—both ordinations by Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk of New York. After serving in Woodbury, Connecticut, and Missouri, Babbitt ministered in Erie, Pa.; Hudson, N. Y.; Charleston, S. C.; Tallahassee, Florida; Middletown, Newark, and Weathersfield Springs, N. Y.; and Bainbridge, Georgia. Hobart College conferred a D. D. upon him. [See *Church Almanac*, 1882, p. 99.]

arrived in Boonville, where he ministered until the following May, when Mr. Peake returned. Mr. Peake reported that during his first two years in Missouri he had travelled 1810 miles, most of it on horseback, had performed services 178 times, including twenty Wednesday evening lectures on the Old Testament, had baptized five infants and one adult, performed the marriage ceremony five times, and officiated at one burial. Four were presented for confirmation. He reported in August, 1838, that he was continuing to minister at Fayette, Boonville and Fulton (the distance between them being 115 miles) and that these places were in as flourishing a condition as could be expected under the circumstances.

In 1839, Mr. Peake moved to St. Louis upon orders of the bishop, and in 1840 became rector of Christ Church. He was succeeded by the Rev. James D. Mead,³⁵ of whom not much is known except that he ministered in the Boonville area for two years. In May, 1841, a lot was purchased and plans were made for the erection of a building for Christ Church.

The second town to see the organizing hand of Bishop Kemper was Palmyra. To this place was sent in January, 1837, the Rev. Chaplin S. Hedges.³⁶ By the spring of 1838, Mr. Hedges was able to write in the April number of the *Spirit of Missions*:

"The whole number of communicants in Palmyra and the neighborhood is fourteen; in Hannibal and the neighborhood are five. I have baptized one adult and one infant. In Palmyra we have a Sunday School containing at present about thirty scholars and eleven teachers. The ladies have a sewing society, the profits of which are devoted to the building of the church. I officiate alternately in Palmyra and Hannibal on Sundays, and lecture every Wednesday night in Palmyra."

The women of the little faithful band in Palmyra evidently had accumulated enough profits out of their sewing to enable Mr. Hedges in the summer of 1838 to make the venture, lease a plot of ground, and begin the erection of a church structure to be used for public worship. This was finished sometime in January, 1839, and was located on the southeast corner of Olive and Lane Streets. A few months

³⁵JAMES DONALDSON MEAD, M. D. (died Sept. 12, 1882, aged 75) was ordered deacon, June 11, 1839, by Bishop Brownell of Connecticut. He died at Long Ridge, Conn. [See *Church Almanac*, 1884, p. 102.]

³⁶CHAPLIN S. HEDGES, D. D. (died April 2, 1892, aged 84) was ordained deacon, August 21, 1831, by Bishop Meade, and priest in 1833 by Bishop Richard Channing Moore, of Virginia. He spent most of his long ministry in Missouri and the South, for many years as rector of St. Luke's Church, New Orleans. [See *Church Almanac*, 1893, p. 352.] See below, "Appendix: Letter to Hedges from J. D. Carder, March 8, 1837," concerning the policy of the Board of Missions.

after the church was completed, Mr. Hedges resigned to become an army chaplain at Jefferson Barracks, south of St. Louis. While stationed there, he began missionary work in the neighborhood to the south of St. Louis.

In Palmyra, he was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas E. Paine,³⁷ who also conducted a school. We are told that Bishop Kemper consecrated the new church building in November, 1840; and that members of Christ Church, St. Louis, gave liberally of their means to supplement the "profits" of the sewing ladies in Palmyra toward the support of the new congregation upstate.

Organization of parishes came fast in a fast-growing area such as Missouri was about 1840. St. Louis had reached the point where it was felt wise to organize a second congregation; and so on November 5, 1839, Bishop Kemper presiding, a meeting was held of interested Episcopalians in the basement of Christ Church. A committee of thirteen prominent members of Christ Church was selected to perfect the organization, and St. Paul's Church came into being, with the Rev. P. R. Minard as missionary in charge. A lot on the corner of 5th and Washington was purchased and a temporary building erected. Later, in 1857, the congregation moved to 17th and Olive. St. Paul's was never a very large parish and the burden of debt was too much for it. During the Civil War, the building was sold to meet the debts on the parish, and in 1868 the name was removed from the diocesan list.

The fifth parish—the fourth of Bishop Kemper's organizing in the state—was Grace Church, Jefferson City. On Monday, November 30, 1840, this parish was organized at a meeting of "the friends of the Protestant Episcopal Church held at Mrs. Stewart's school room in the City of Jefferson." The Rev. William Hommann,³⁸ who had been sent a few months previously as a missionary to Fulton, presided. Bishop Kemper and the Rev. James D. Mead of Boonville were also

³⁷THOMAS EDWARD PAINE was ordered deacon, July 23, 1837, by Bishop Kemper. Before serving in Missouri, he had been ministering in Princeton, Kentucky. He disappears from the clergy list in the General Convention *Journals*, from 1844 on.

³⁸WILLIAM HOMMANN (died March 31, 1870) was ordered deacon, August 16, 1835, by Bishop H. U. Onderdonk of Pennsylvania, after having graduated that year from the General Theological Seminary. He was apparently one of the students persuaded to enlist under Kemper's banner for missionary work in the West, for he followed Kemper to Wisconsin when Missouri became a diocese. After several years at Green Bay, Wisconsin, Hommann became a missionary in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, about 1857, and remained there for about ten years. He then returned for two years to Stevens Point, Wisconsin, but ended his ministry at South River, New Jersey, 1868-1870.

Bishop Odenheimer of New Jersey called Hommann "a faithful, self-denying missionary," and memorialized him with the following tribute in his "Episcopal Address" of 1870:

present. Articles of Association were drawn up and signed by seven men. The next entry on the *Record Book* of the vestry indicates that on January 11, 1841, Mr. Hommann was authorized to appeal to Eastern churches for aid in building a house of worship. A committee was authorized to "procure six quires of letter paper and have copies of said appeal printed as soon as possible." Plans were drawn in 1842, and a contract signed for the erection of a house of worship, but it was not completed for some years.

Among settlers arriving in the new state were many from Virginia. Some of these settled north of St. Louis in Pike and Lincoln Counties. About 1839, many of these families bearing such names as Clark, Meriwether, Lewis, Miner, Carr, came together in a small log schoolhouse a few miles from the present town of Eolia. The first services were conducted by John Long, a tutor in the family of Walker Meriwether, on whose farm the building stood. Occasional services were conducted by Bishop Kemper and other clergymen who passed by. In 1856, a substantial brick church building was erected in Prairieville, and the members of the Episcopal Church in the neighborhood transferred their membership to this congregation. The site of the first Church services is now occupied by a cemetery.

With the organization of five parishes and the possibility of many more, Bishop Kemper felt the time had come to renew his resignation as rector of Christ Church. He had first offered this action in the fall of 1839. It was not accepted then, but in the spring of 1840 the vestry accepted his resignation with the expression of deep regret for the separation and of hearty thankfulness for his earnest, useful and self-denying labors.

Organization of the Diocese of Missouri

Just prior to this action on the part of Christ Church, an informal meeting was held, attended by a few clergymen and laymen in St. Louis, to discuss the possibility of calling a convention for the purpose of

"It was a short, sharp road by which our brother passed from his service on earth to the repose of Paradise. But he was ready for the change. His daily life seemed to me to be a preparation for the other and enduring life, and the Master's summons found him waiting and watching.

"My heart was more and more drawn to this unobtrusive, but very laborious missionary, and he was gaining friends and helpers by his work every year. His loss will be deeply felt in the field of work which he so lovingly cultivated, looking to the Great Head of the Church for his comfort and reward." [Diocese of New Jersey, *Journal*, 1870, pp. 129-30.]

organizing the scattered parishes in the state into a diocese. Those present felt the necessity of formal organization, and so called a primary convention to meet on November 16, 1840, in Christ Church, St. Louis. There were eight clergymen in the state entitled to seats in the convention, and all were present. Their names are presented here as a matter of record and interest:

Clergy—the Rev. Messrs. Silas A. Crane, Chaplin S. Hedges, William Hommann, James D. Mead, Peter R. Minard, Thomas E. Paine, Fred F. Peake and Isaac Smith.

Lay delegates included: Messrs. A. Hamilton, J. P. Foan, Dr. L. Hoffman and Dr. J. B. McDowell from Christ Church; Messrs. A. Knox, R. R. Williams and C. Merriman from St. Paul's; Messrs. J. B. Lambert, F. W. Southack and Dr. H. Peake from St. Paul's Church, Palmyra; Mr. A. T. Douglas from St. Paul's Mission in St. Charles. Grace Church, Jefferson City, and Christ Church, Boonville, were not represented.

Minard preached the opening sermon; the convention resolved to organize the Diocese of Missouri and to petition the General Convention, scheduled to meet the following October in New York, for admission as a diocese, instructing its deputies to apply for admission "only on the ground of being permitted to enjoy the services of the Missionary Bishop [Kemper] as heretofore."

And so another diocese came into being, the second west of the Mississippi, Louisiana having been organized two years previously. The deputies to the General Convention reported to the diocesan convention in 1841 that the Diocese of Missouri had been admitted without objection. It was unanimously resolved "That the Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper DD be invited to take the full Episcopal charge and authority of the Diocese." This the bishop agreed to do until the diocese could support its own bishop, and continued in charge of the new diocese until 1843.

With the growth of the city of St. Louis, a third parish was felt advisable, and St. John's came into being on the "south side." Organized on Advent Sunday, 1841, it held services in the Washington Engine House for nearly a year until it could locate permanent quarters on Spruce Street. Now in its 113th year, it continues to carry on a valid ministry in St. Louis on Arsenal Street near Grand Avenue. St. John's Parish was admitted to union with the convention of the diocese on November 12, 1842.

Grace Church, Jefferson City, having functioned as a mission successfully, was admitted to the convention, November 12, 1841.

The next congregation to perfect its organization was St. Andrew's Mission, Carondelet Township, which was admitted to convention, November 11, 1842. This was the congregation organized by the Rev. Chaplin S. Hedges during his spare time while acting as chaplain at Jefferson Barracks.

First Diocesan Bishop—Cicero Stephens Hawks

With the organization of the diocese came the desire for a bishop who could concentrate his labors in the state of Missouri. In the convention of 1842, Bishop Kemper suggested that a committee be appointed to ascertain whether, according to General Convention canons, the diocese was entitled to elect a bishop; that is, whether it had sufficient parishes and clergy resident in the diocese, and the necessary means of financial support.

Preceding the 1843 convention, a plan had to be devised to secure a bishop for Missouri. Could Bishop Kemper's services have been obtained as diocesan, neither the clergy nor the laity would have chosen to look further. But Bishop Kemper felt himself to be a missionary, and refused to have his name considered. But he suggested a plan whereby a clergyman might be chosen rector of Christ Church, and the General Convention petitioned to elect him bishop of Missouri, if there was any doubt as to the ability of the diocese under the canons to elect their own bishop.

With this in mind, the convention assembled in Jefferson City, September 21, 1843. Bishop Kemper, one clergyman and four laymen were present. This number not being sufficient to organize, the convention adjourned to meet in St. Louis, September 27. On that date, there were present the bishop, five clergymen, and lay representatives of three St. Louis parishes. Action was taken to request General Convention to elect a bishop of Missouri, and the vestry of Christ Church notified the diocesan convention of its willingness to elect the Rev. Cicero S. Hawks²⁰ of Trinity Church, Buffalo, New York, as its rector,

²⁰CICERO STEPHENS HAWKS (May 26, 1812-April 19, 1868), brother of the Rev. Francis Lister Hawks (1798-1866), was born at Newbern, North Carolina. He was graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1830, and began the study of law, but gave it up for theology, which he studied under the Rev. (later Bishop) George W. Freeman. He was ordained deacon, December 8, 1834, and priest, July 24, 1836, by Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk of New York.

After spending his diaconate at Trinity Church, Ulster, New York, he accepted the rectorship of Trinity Church, Saugerties, New York, upon becoming a priest. In 1837, he began his rectorship of Trinity Church, Buffalo, New York, until 1843, when he left for Christ Church, St. Louis.

provided the convention would unite in procuring or applying for his appointment to the episcopate thereof. Bishop Kemper approved of this action, and a few days later an adjourned session of this convention approved the necessary memorial to General Convention, on the ground that there were not enough settled presbyters to elect. The Rev. P. R. Minard was named a messenger to call upon the Rev. Mr. Hawks and inform him of the wishes of the new Diocese of Missouri. On November 6, the convention met again, this time in the rectory of Christ Church, to hear that Mr. Minard had discharged his duties and that an answer was expected in a few days.

The answer was a favorable one. The Rev. Mr. Hawks became rector of Christ Church in January, 1844. During the sessions of General Convention in Philadelphia, he was elected bishop, and on October 20, was consecrated by the venerable Philander Chase, Presiding Bishop; the co-consecrators were Kemper, McCoskry of Michigan, Polk of Louisiana, and DeLancey of Western New York.

The diocesan convention was called to meet on November 14. On that day the members convened in Christ Church, but since Bishop Hawks had not yet arrived from the East, the convention adjourned until December 5. On that date, Bishop Hawks presided at his first convention of the Diocese of Missouri. Four of the five clergymen in charge of congregations were present, and lay delegates from four parishes answered the roll call.

And so we find the new Diocese of Missouri standing on the brink of a new era. With a young enthusiastic bishop, a small but devoted group of clergy and great opportunities in the young growing state, the Church was ready to move forward.

Three bishops were consecrated in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on October 20, 1844, with the same consecrator—Philander Chase—but with different co-consecrators in each case:

Carlton Chase (1794-1870), Bishop of New Hampshire, 1844-1870.

Nicholas Hamner Cobbs (1796-1861), Bishop of Alabama, 1844-1861.

Cicero Stephens Hawks (1812-1868), Bishop of Missouri.

Bishop Hawks, be it noted, was only thirty-two years old at the time of his consecration. During the cholera epidemic of 1849 in St. Louis, he was untiring in his ministrations to the sick and suffering. In appreciation of his services in this epidemic, he was given a purse of \$3,000 by Christ Church, and the citizens of St. Louis gave him a residence on Paul Street.

Bishop William Stevens Perry thus appraises him:

"The bishop was an eloquent preacher, a man of culture and refinement, and a wise, conservative, and tolerant diocesan. He died universally beloved and regretted."

[See W. S. Perry, *The Bishops of the American Church* (New York, 1895), p. 97; *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 122.]

Appendix

**Letter to the Rev. Chaplin S. Hedges, Palmyra,
Missouri, March 8, 1837, from the Rev.
James D. Carder, Secretary of the
Committee on Domestic Missions
of the Board of Missions⁴⁰**

OFFICE OF DOMESTIC MISSIONS PROT. EP. CH.
115 FRANKLIN ST., NEW YORK.

MARCH 8: 1837

Rev. & Dear Brother:

I have pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your letter of February 2nd ult. and in informing you that it was laid before the Committee for Domestic Missions at their last meeting on the 6th inst.

The Committee thereupon adopted the following resolution, viz:

Resolved, That, in the expectation that an effort will be made immediately to build a church at Palmyra, Mo. the salary of the Rev. Chaplin S. Hedges be fixed at \$500 for this year; and that he be informed that Hannibal will be added to his station if it meet the approbation of the Missionary Bishop.

This is a larger salary than the Committee have yet appropriated for any missionary not in the extreme southern states. They have made it in full confidence that a strong effort will be made at once to build a church well knowing how much of missionary labor is lost in every place where a convenient and proper place for service cannot be obtained. It is infinitely better to build a neat, small, and cheap church at a station than to wait several years, as is sometimes the case, in endeavoring to secure the means of erecting a large and substantial church. The little Temple, early raised, becomes the nucleus around which are gathered the strength and the means to build a larger and more permanent edifice when the wants of the congregation call for it.

The Committee do not think with you that it would be bad policy for your congregation to contribute to your support while the church is building during the present year. The reason you assign may be a good one why they should not be urged to do a great deal for that object; but the true policy undoubtedly is that the people to whom the missionary ministers should be expected to give of their ability towards the support of the missionary; and to withhold such support

⁴⁰The original letter is in the library of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia, and came into its possession as recently as May 5, 1954—the gift of William E. Leidt, editor of *Forth Magazine*.

altogether, when there is ability, is not to offer much encouragement to the Committee to assume the burden of the Missionary's support.

The Committee confidently hope that such an interest will be awakened at Palmyra in behalf of the Church, and so much strength gathered by the blessing of God on the labors of the present year that the new parish, to be formed there, will be able, to a very considerable extent, to relieve the Committee next year from the support of the missionary.

As respects Hannibal, the Committee will be guided by the opinion of Bp. Kemper. Should he think it best that a portion of your services should be given to that place, regularly, the Committee will cheerfully assent. We would greatly rejoice if you should be the instrument of raising up a Church there also.

The Outfit to which you are entitled, according to the established rule of the Committee, for yourself and family, is ten cents per mile of the distance from Winchester, Va. to Palmyra, by the ordinary route of travel. For your outfit you are authorized to draw at any time; and on the first of April for so much salary as will have accrued up to that time reckoning from your arrival at your station, and making the draft in conformity with the printed instructions of the Committee. Any business man near you will be glad to cash your drafts for you (perhaps paying you a premium) and to save you all trouble in the matter.

I shall write to Bp. Kemper, today, respecting Hannibal. Praying for the divine blessing on your efforts for the souls of men and the Church of Christ, I am

Respectfully & truly

Your friend & brother

JAMES D. CARDER

Local Secretary

Com: Dom: Missions.⁴¹

Rev. Chaplin S. Hedges.

Palmyra,

Marion Co.,

Missouri.

⁴¹JAMES DIXON CARDER (died August, 1866) was ordered deacon on December 1, 1830, by Bishop B. T. Onderdonk of New York. He served as missionary at Ithaca, New York, and in 1835 became minister of St. John's Church, Fort Hamilton, King's County, New York, and a chaplain in the U. S. Army.

In 1837, he replaced the Rev. Benjamin Dorr as secretary of the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions. This post he resigned in 1842, and returned to his former parish, St. John's.

In 1861, he again became secretary of the Domestic Committee, and served in that office until his death in 1866.

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The Episcopate of Horatio Potter (1802-1887)

Sixth Bishop of New York, 1854-1887

By George E. DeMille*



ON September 29, 1854, the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels, the convention of the diocese of New York elected as provisional bishop the Rev. Horatio Potter, D. D., rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany. Thus began an episcopate of over thirty years—a generation in fact—an episcopate that might justly be characterized as one of the most distinguished in the history of the American Church. Yet it is an episcopate that has been strangely neglected by historians and biographers alike.

Horatio's older brother, Alonzo (1800-1865), had already, in 1845, become bishop of Pennsylvania. There is a good biography of him on the shelves.¹ Horatio's nephew, Henry Codman Potter,² succeeded him as bishop of New York. He has been written up time after time. But Horatio has been celebrated only by a brace of non-committal articles in encyclopedias and biographical dictionaries.³ This article is an attempt to place before the reader a more adequate portrait of a worth-while subject.

I. Early Life and Ministry

Not very much is known of the early life of Horatio Potter, and it is not the purpose of this article to dwell on it. He was a native of New York State, and a convert to the Episcopal Church, as was his brother Alonzo. They were descendants of Robert Potter of Coventry,

*Canon DeMille is rector of Christ Church, Duaneburgh, New York, registrar of the diocese of Albany, and author of *The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church* (Church Historical Society Publication No. 12, 2d ed., Philadelphia, 1950), and of *A History of the Diocese of Albany, 1704-1923* (Church Historical Society Publication No. 16, Philadelphia, 1946).—Editor's note.

¹For the latest appraisal and for all necessary bibliographical references, see William Wilson Manross, "A Great Evangelical: Alonzo Potter, Third Bishop of Pennsylvania," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, IX (1940), 97-130.

²HENRY CODMAN POTTER (1835-1908): coadjutor bishop of New York, 1883-1887; diocesan, 1887-1908. Two full length biographies are: George Hodges, *Henry Codman Potter, Seventh Bishop of New York* (New York, 1915) pp. 386; James Sheerin, *Henry Codman Potter, An American Metropolitan* (New York, 1933), pp. 196.

³See the Bibliography at the end of this article.

England, who came to America in 1634. Their parents—Joseph and Anne (Knight) Potter—had moved from Rhode Island and settled on a farm at Beekman, later known as La Grange, Dutchess County, New York. There the two sons, Alonzo and Horatio, were born, the latter on February 9, 1802. Their parents belonged to the Society of Friends.

Horatio, after attending the local schools, followed his brother to Union College, from which he received the degree of A.B. in 1826. Bishop Whipple relates an incident which at once illustrates the influence of Bishop John Henry Hobart, and probably explains a factor in Horatio's conversion, although Alonzo and not Horatio is the Potter immediately involved:

The Rev. Father Dunn of New Jersey told me that when he was a student in Union College, Bishop Hobart came to Schenectady, and the Church boys called upon him. Dunn asked his classmate, Alonzo Potter, to accompany them. After a pleasant evening with the bishop, Dunn said to his friend, "Alonzo, what did you think of our bishop?"

Potter replied, "When I thought of his office and of the history behind him, Dunn, I felt that I would rather be a bishop of the Episcopal Church than to be the President of the United States." He was then an unbaptized youth whose father was a member of the Society of Friends.⁴

Curiously enough, although Bishop Hobart ordained Alonzo in 1822 as a deacon, he came into the Episcopal Church by baptism at the hands of Bishop William White of Pennsylvania, and his churchmanship reflected that of Pennsylvania rather than that of New York.

Horatio, however, was a Hobartian high churchman. He studied at the General Theological Seminary. He was ordained deacon, July 15, 1827, and priest, December 14, 1828—both ordinations by Bishop Hobart. His diaconate was spent in Saco, Maine, but following his ordination to the priesthood he became professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in Washington (now Trinity) College, Hartford, Connecticut, where he remained for five years.

In 1833, Potter began his twenty-one-year rectorship of St. Peter's Church, Albany, New York. This period of his life has been adequately dealt with by the Rev. Joseph Hooper in one of the best parish histories extant.⁵ Suffice to repeat here what Hooper in one paragraph gives as his appraisal:

⁴Henry B. Whipple, *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate* (New York, 1900) pp. 420-421.

⁵*A History of Saint Peter's Church in the City of Albany* (Albany, 1900) pp. 253-305.

"The new rector gained the respect and regard of all his parishioners. His sermons were marked by vigor of thought, purity of style and elegance of diction. He read the service with impressiveness and dignity. He was careful and punctilious in every detail of his public and private ministrations. He began his ministry before the great Catholic revival which followed the Oxford movement. The American [Episcopal] Church was overshadowed by religious systems which were powerfully organized and had a large following. It was engaged in a struggle for existence. Its clergymen were the leaders of a small fraction of the American people. While they did not ignore the 'outward and visible,' they were more concerned for the 'inward and spiritual,' and put their emphasis on 'vital religion,' a phrase then very popular."⁶

II. Election and Consecration

In 1845, the Rt. Rev. Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk, bishop of New York, had been suspended from his episcopal office for alleged offences against the moral code.⁷ This suspension split the diocese of New York into three groups: first, a small number who felt he was guilty and deserved what he got; second, a much larger group, especially among the laity, who were convinced that, innocent or guilty, he could no longer, even if restored, function successfully as bishop of New York; third, a very large group, numbering probably a majority of the clergy, who were sure that he was an innocent man wrongly condemned, and who stood by him to the last. This division followed somewhat, but not entirely, party lines.

Most of the out and out opponents of Bishop Onderdonk were also bigoted low churchmen. The middle group was composed largely of old fashioned high churchmen. The pro-Onderdonk men were also in the main whole-hearted supporters of the Oxford movement. The diocesan conventions of the years following Bishop Onderdonk's suspension were naturally marked by a series of bitter conflicts. A fair indication of the storminess of a diocesan convention is the number of times it resorts to a vote by orders; the New York conventions from 1845 to 1853 spent a large portion of their time answering roll calls.

When the convention of 1845 met, Dr. Potter was abroad, visiting Keble and Pusey, and watching to see what Newman would do. He

⁶Hooper, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-257.

⁷See E. Clowes Chorley, "Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk, Fourth Bishop of New York," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, IX(1940), pp. 1-51, for the best treatment of this subject.

was present at the convention of 1846; four votes by orders were taken; he did not vote. He was absent from the conventions of 1847, 1848, and 1849. In 1850 he was present. Nothing of a controversial nature came up.

In November 1850, a special convention was held to elect a provisional bishop under the canon of General Convention just enacted for that purpose. Dr. Potter was absent. It was an unhappy convention. The die-hard supporters of Bishop Onderdonk had obviously fixed on Samuel Seabury III, as their candidate. Henry J. Whitehouse, later bishop of Illinois, a strong high churchman but a vigorous anti-Onderdonk man, was the opposition candidate. John Williams, later bishop of Connecticut, represented the middle group. An analysis of the votes reveals the maneuvers of the various parties. Whitehouse was withdrawn on the second ballot, his supporters switching to Williams. Seabury withdrew on the third; Horatio Southgate took his place. On the sixth ballot, the supporters of Southgate tried their luck with William Creighton, who during the vacancy had been consistently elected as president of the convention, and who had served impartially and acceptably. After seven ballots without an election, the convention gave up in despair and went home.

In 1851, Dr. Potter being present, the convention succeeded, after eight ballots, in electing Creighton, who declined. Finally, in September 1852, Dr. Potter being absent, the Rev. Jonathan M. Wainwright (1792-1854), assistant minister of Trinity Parish, New York, was elected provisional bishop and consecrated November 10th of that year.

Bishop Wainwright presided over but one convention, that of 1853. Potter, whose name had been so conspicuously absent from the rolls of so many conventions, now appears, and at once takes a front seat. He is appointed to committees; he makes motions; he is plainly one of the leading men of the convention. On September 21, 1854, Bishop Wainwright suddenly died, and the special convention of 1854 had the whole difficult business of an episcopal election to do over again. The indication is that in this election party lines, whether high church, low church, pro-Onderdonk or anti-Onderdonk, were not closely drawn. There were four prominent candidates: Francis Vinton, Benjamin Haight, Robert Harris and Horatio Potter. At the beginning, Potter was decidedly at the bottom of the heap, but his complete detachment from the heated debates of the past few years proved to his advantage, and on the eighth ballot he was elected by a small margin.

He was consecrated bishop in Trinity Church, New York, on Wednesday, November 22, 1854. The consecration was, according to

the historian of St. Peter's, Albany, "probably the most impressive and elaborate that had ever been held in the American Church." The consecrator was the venerable Presiding Bishop, Thomas Church Brownell of Connecticut. Joining in the consecration were Bishops John Henry Hopkins of Vermont, George Washington Doane of New Jersey, Samuel A. McCoskry of Michigan, William R. Whittingham of Maryland, and Alonzo Potter of Pennsylvania. The sermon was preached by Bishop Francis Fulford of Montreal, who also joined in the act of consecration.

III. The Beginning of Potter's Episcopate

From Potter's attitude toward controversial questions since 1845, a superficial observer might well conclude that he was a sort of ecclesiastical Casper Milquetoast. The superficial observer would be wrong. His address to the convention of 1855 was clear proof that the distracted diocese had found in him a master—wise, tolerant in non-essentials, statesmanlike in his approach, but a master. One of the chief concerns of this address was the missionary problem of the diocese. Potter at once perceived, what some bishops have to learn by sad experience, that even in a wealthy and populous state like New York, there are, and in all probability always will be, rural communities where the Church can never expect to become self-supporting, but in which there are Church people to whom the Church must minister, communities which must be permanently aided by the diocese. Following the line of Bishop Hobart, it was his consistent policy to use the wealth of the New York City parishes to maintain the Church in such places.

A few defections to Rome brought up the burning question of the day—the proper evaluation of the Oxford movement, which also involved a proper estimate of the English Reformation. Let the bishop speak for himself:

"Salutary and necessary as was the Reformation in itself, it created certain tendencies toward change, innovation, free thinking, insubordination, which running into excess in certain quarters, hurried away ill-regulated minds into rationalism and infidelity, and threatened the overthrow of more than one civil government. There was a *loss* to here and there an individual, but a great *gain* to the aggregate of the Reformed Body."

"... It must, I think, be confessed by every enlightened observer, that the *movement* which has occurred in the Anglican Church within twenty years, is the most energetic and the most important of any which has been witnessed in that

branch of the Church, since the period of the Reformation. Outward pressure and other causes constrained her to appeal to higher evidence and authority than the accident of a state establishment. She dug down to her foundations. She pointed to Scripture and to the records of the first Christian ages, to prove that her origin was from God, and her power divine . . . The Church set herself to resuscitate and reclaim those old Catholic elements, which had been ever a real and essential part of her system; but which, for a long period, had been too much in abeyance, and too much overlooked. . . .

"Coincident with this revival of Catholic truth and the primitive *ethos*, was a wonderful revival of spiritual life and energy. Noble churches went up by hundreds in quarters where before not five had been added in a century. Colonial Bishoprics established and endowed all around the globe, and served by Catholic-minded men of the true apostolic spirit—new life infused into the whole parochial system at home—a spirit of earnest devotion taking possession of the great schools and universities . . . unwonted devices and efforts to reach and recall the children of vice and misery—these are some of the abundant tokens . . . that the Church as a whole has arisen and shaken herself from the dust—set herself to a new and more glorious warfare against the powers of darkness."

In this pronouncement, Potter clearly allies himself, against Charles P. McIlvaine and William Meade, and with Whittingham and Doane, as an out and out defender of the Oxford movement. He also indicated, in this same first address, that he was a disciplinarian. A priest in Brooklyn had performed the burial office over the grave of a suicide. This breach of the rubrics Potter dealt with firmly, authoritatively, but gently, so that the offending priest expressed his sense of his error and his deep regret.

Missionary statesmanship, a sane Catholic position, and care for discipline—these three notes struck in this address were to be the characteristics of Potter's episcopate.

IV. A Peaceful Decade

The beginning of Potter's administration coincided with a sudden and sharp decrease in party strife. For ten years Church and diocese had peace. It was a decade of steady growth in the diocese. Every year churches applied for admission to union with convention. In this growth Potter played his part. He was by no means the missionary leader Hobart had been. His background was certainly not that of a missionary. From a teaching position at Trinity College, Hart-

ford, he had gone to the rectorship of St. Peter's, Albany, a substantial but small city parish. From St. Peter's, he had been elevated to the episcopate of the largest and strongest diocese in the country. But he at once, as his opening convention address shows, demonstrated an awareness of the need for missionary work, and a firm resolve to back that work. In convention after convention we find him appealing to a Church that was appallingly slow in taking up its missionary responsibility, for financial support for the underpaid missionary clergy. This steady pressure eventually produced results, inadequate to the task, to be sure, but results nevertheless.

In 1855, the Memorial Movement, an attempt to stir up the missionary zeal of the Church, and to further the advance of the Church by greater flexibility in polity and in the use of the Book of Common Prayer, was the chief item of business before General Convention.⁸ Potter's brother, the bishop of Pennsylvania, was one of the chief promoters of this movement. But two of Horatio Potter's leading characteristics—his innate conservatism, and his strong sense of order and discipline—made him decidedly cool toward the Memorialists.

Potter's administrative strategy and his calm statesmanship are well illustrated by his attitude toward the division of the diocese. During the fifties, the agitation for smaller dioceses was a party issue; the agitation was led in the main by a rather small group of "advanced" churchmen, John Henry Hopkins, Junior, being the chief. In 1859, Bishop Potter first took official cognizance of this agitation in his convention address. He handled it in characteristic fashion. His discussion was marked by his usual balanced and temperate wisdom. He questioned the advantage of the small diocese, ruled out the appeal to the primitive Church, and handled the whole matter as one of practical expediency. On these grounds, his conclusion was that division was unwise. Missionary work in the upstate counties, deprived of the financial support of the New York City parishes, would in his view languish and die.⁹

But the question would not down, and in 1861 he was again forced to deal with the issue in his convention address. His own opinion as to the wisdom of division remained unchanged. But Potter was not the man to oppose the will of the democracy when no vital

⁸See E. R. Hardy, "Evangelical Catholicism: W. A. Muhlenberg and the Memorial Movement," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XIII(1944), 155-192.

⁹In 1870, when the same group was agitating for the erection of provinces, and touting it as a solution for all the ills of the Church, Potter coolly announced that he would neither obstruct action in this direction nor forward it, but made it very clear that he had a low opinion of the proposal. History has amply justified his verdict. We have provinces, and they amount to very little.

principle was involved. He always knew when to give way, and how to give way gracefully. He therefore recommended the appointment of a committee to study the whole subject, and to report to the next convention. By 1862, he had become convinced that division was inevitable; he was however resolved that, as far as he was able, the new dioceses, when erected, should receive their fair share of diocesan endowments. In 1866, nothing having been accomplished, the bishop took the lead, advocated an immediate erection of a diocese of Long Island, but was still doubtful of the ability of upstate New York outside of the diocese of Western New York to support itself. Finally, in 1868, the two new dioceses of Long Island and Albany were set apart from the mother diocese, and the diocese of Central New York was carved largely out of Western New York. The two dioceses in New York State had become five.

The primary convention of the diocese of Albany was held in St. Peter's Church, Albany, on December 2, 1868. Bishop Potter was the preacher. In two emphatic paragraphs, the bishop stated, with unmistakable clarity, his view of the Episcopal Church:

"Christianity is not a mere *sentiment*; it is not a mere *doctrine*, opinion, or feeling. It is a *Divine Institution* duly organized; its Faith, its Ministry, its sacraments, all alike unchangeable, and all alike derived from its Divine Author and Head. It is a *Holy Society*, a *Spiritual Body*, a very Mystical Body of Christ, filled with His Presence and Grace—a living *Body*, of which, if it be accessible to us, we must become members, and in and through which we must find nourishment for our spiritual life and work out our salvation."

"Under the divine blessing these objects are to be obtained by regarding the Church, by treating it, by teaching it, by living in it, *as that which it really is*—not a sect, not a respectable religious body, for whose order and doctrines a plausible argument can be constructed out of Holy Scriptures—but as a pure branch of the One Holy Catholic Church, divinely handed down to us; and as to its faith and order, resting upon the immovable foundation of Holy Scripture; rightly interpreted, according to its letter and according to the faith and practice of the whole early Church."

This is the very tone and accent of John Henry Hobart, and reminds us that Potter was a student at the General Theological Seminary in the class of 1828, when the influence of Hobart in that institution was at its height. Furthermore, these words form a sort of platform, on which Potter was to stand in the controversies of the coming years.

One other quality of Potter's administration during these com-

paratively peaceful years calls for remark. The Episcopal Church in America has always faced one grave danger—that it might become the Church of one social class. And nowhere was this danger more pressing than in the diocese of New York. It is therefore significant that a large part of the bishop's address to the convention of 1866 was a clarion call to preach the gospel to the poor. He begins this portion of the address by citing and emphasizing the example of our Lord; then flatly declares that the Episcopal Church has not followed this example.

"Look at many of our congregations," he exclaims. "In what proportions have the poor any share in the gospel preached in them? In many cases are not the poor almost entirely crowded out? There is no room for them in the Church, any more than there was room for our blessed Lord in the Inn at his birth."

He commends the few tentatives made by the Church in New York City in this direction, and points out specific steps that should be taken; chapels for the poor, district visitors to point out to the clergy where pastoral care is required, systematic effort to relieve the vice that springs from poverty, and a "central mission house, where men can live cheap, be animated by social sympathy and devotion, and go forth regularly day by day to their appointed districts for labor."

All this was doubtless pointed up in Potter's mind by a notable step he had taken the previous year, when on the Feast of the Purification he had received the professions of the first four sisters of the Community of St. Mary^a—the first permanent American sisterhood, and had assigned to them the care of a home for abandoned girls. It is tempting to regard Potter, with his rather angular personality, as an academic Catholic. This address, and the action which preceded it, prove that he was not.

The close of the Civil War found Bishop Potter functioning in the role of peacemaker, which the Rev. Morgan Dix, rector of Trinity Church, New York, characterized "as one of the most striking episodes in the life of our great-hearted bishop," and one which "must be held in perpetual remembrance."^b

The General Convention of 1865 met in Philadelphia. The Southern dioceses had during the Civil War organized the "Protestant

^aSee Sister Mary Theodora, "The Foundation of the Sisterhood of St. Mary," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XIV (1945), 38-52; also, Thomas J. Williams, "The Beginnings of Anglican Sisterhoods," in *ibid.*, XVI (1947), 350-372.

^bMorgan Dix, "The Sixth Bishop of New York," in *The Centennial History of the Diocese of New York*, edited by James Grant Wilson (New York, 1886), p. 194.

Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America," on the premise that a new nation had been established. Admitting the premise, this was action based on a sound Anglican principle. But the result of the war had nullified the premise. Would the Southern dioceses return to union with their Northern brethren?

No one felt quite sure just how the reunion was to be brought about, and there were searchings of heart on both sides. Bishops Thomas Atkinson of North Carolina and Henry C. Lay of Arkansas had determined to attend the Convention in Philadelphia, and did so; but at the opening service they modestly took seats with the congregation in the nave of the church. Messengers were sent to conduct them to seats in the chancel among the bishops, but they declined the invitation.

"After the service the Bishops of New York and Maryland went with others to greet them, and with friendly violence drew them toward the House of Bishops. It was then, when they hesitated to enter that house until they should know on what terms and with what understanding they were to be received, that Bishop Potter addressed to them the memorable words:

'Trust all to the love and honor of your brethren!'

They could ask, and they desired, no other assurance. They knew the men with whom they had to deal. They entered without further hesitation, and the House of Bishops nobly redeemed the noble pledge made by the Bishop of New York."^{9-c}

V. In the Midst of Alarums

There is, of course, always tension within the Anglican Communion between high and low churchmen. As any student of history knows, this tension at times relaxes, at times becomes acute. After the stormy time of the forties, the American Church experienced nearly two decades of comparative peace. The year 1865, which marks the close of the American Civil War, also marks the outbreak of the Second

^{9-c}John Fulton, "The Church in the Confederate States," in W. S. Perry, *The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587-1883* (Boston, 1885), Vol. II, pp. 589-590; also DuBose Murphy, "The Spirit of a Primitive Fellowship: The Reunion of the Church," in "The Church in the Confederate States Number" of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XVII(1948), pp. 435-448. Murphy confirms Fulton's portrayal of Bishop Horatio Potter as a "peacemaker," but proves from documentary evidence that Bishop Whittingham was the author of the message, "... trust all to the love and honor of your brethren," and Potter was the messenger. See p. 443.

Ritualistic War. The story of this has been told elsewhere.¹⁰ What we are here concerned with is the place of Potter in this war. Since the war broke out under his very nose, in the parish of St. Alban's, New York City, the bishop of New York could not very well hold himself completely aloof from it. Therefore, the bishop's convention address of 1868 has as its central theme, ritualism, and the controversy about it. He begins by stating that in his opinion, "there has been too much denunciation, too much launching of accusations of false doctrine and false ritual." He admits that there has been some justification for this—

"ill-considered statements of doctrine, forms of ceremonial, postures and gestures, which look too much like an imitation of foreign services, and which come too near a representation of questionable doctrine."

But he refuses to surrender himself to this kind of excitement. The Anglican Church is comprehensive, and Potter admits that there are "devoted men in the Church whose notions of the Church's teachings and of some matters of Christian doctrine are very different from" his. Furthermore, Potter feels certain that mere clamor against change, mere resentment of the unaccustomed, is wholly wrong. He asks whether,

"in parishes where, for a long series of years, the services have been conducted in a sordid and slovenly manner, without proper appointments, in a mode which is really out of harmony with the better general practice of the Church, are such services to be fastened upon the Church forever, merely because, in a day of imperfect things, they chanced to be so begun?"

He notes the general advance in ceremonial of the past half-century—an advance not confined to the churches of any one party, but affecting the whole Church.

"An attempt to keep all our churches and all our services forever conformed to the standard of what were the average forms sixty years ago would have been a monstrous absurdity, and it would have been just as impossible as to prevent the rising of the ocean tides. Could an exact image of the average services of the Church as they were celebrated sixty years ago be made palpable to our view, there is not one Churchman or Churchwoman in a hundred in this Diocese who would desire to recall them."

¹⁰See George E. DeMille, *The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church* (2d ed., Philadelphia, 1950), pp. 108-132.

And he regards the attempt to force ceremonial restrictions through General Convention—an attempt that was furthered by a number of distinctly “high church” bishops—as a “perilous and mischievous undertaking.” In all this it must be borne in mind that temperamentally Potter was ever a conservative, and the last man in the world to go in for ritualistic extravagance himself. His position is the expression, not of his emotions, but of that calm, cool sanity which was perhaps his most notable characteristic.

VI. The Upholder of Discipline

As far back as 1792, the General Convention had enacted Canon 6, which read as follows:

No clergyman belonging to this Church shall officiate, either by preaching or by reading prayers, in the parish, or within the parochial cure of another clergyman, unless he has received express permission for that purpose from the minister of the parish or cure, or, in his absence, from the churchwardens, vestrymen, or trustees of the congregation.¹¹

Necessity, based on experience, had thus early—three years after the national organization of the Church was completed—led to the enactment of this canon. It was revised and amplified in various particulars until the General Convention of 1853 materially amended it and made it Canon 9 of that year. Six years later, the General Convention of 1859 amended Canon 9, made it Section 6, of Title I, Canon 12. The second paragraph of clause (ii) of the latter canon read as follows:

If there be but one church or congregation within the limits of such village, town, township, borough, city, or such division of a city or town, as herein provided, the same shall be deemed the cure of the Minister having charge thereof. If there be two or more congregations or churches therein, it shall be deemed the cure of the Ministers thereof; and the assent of a majority of such Ministers shall be necessary.

Bishop Potter made it clear that this canon means what it says, and backed up its meaning with action.

¹¹For the history of this canon, see Edwin A. White, *Constitution and Canons for the Government of the Protestant Episcopal Church . . . Annotated . . .* (New York, 1924), pp. 486-495. The second edition of the above work, recently revised by Jackson A. Dykman, in 2 vols. (Greenwich, Conn., The Seabury Press, 1954), Vol. II, pp. 136-144, can be consulted for the same exposition.

In the early sixties, there was a growing disposition among the "evangelical" clergy to hold what are called "union services." Bishop Potter, good Hobartian that he was, strongly disapproved of such action. In 1865, therefore, he issued a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, dealing with the matter of union services. He begins by quoting the relevant canons and sections of the ordination services, requiring all priests to conform in all things to the doctrine and discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. He goes on to draw a careful distinction between ministers episcopally ordained, and those not so ordained, defends his action in allowing an Eastern Orthodox priest to use St. John's Chapel for services of the Eastern rite, and declares that this permission is not a valid precedent for the occurrences to which he objects. Complaint has come to him that

"ministers of this church . . . have united with ministers of non-Episcopal bodies in holding services in Churches of this Diocese; or else ministers of this Church went to non-Episcopal places of worship and preached, without the due performance of the devotional services enjoined by the law of the Church. There seemed to be an express design to unite with the ministers of other bodies in the same services."

In his view, such actions are

"a gross innovation, and a flagrant violation of the spirit and intent of our law; and of the principles of our Church, as interpreted by the general practice and the unvarying judgment of the great body of our divines, both English and American."

He hopes—vain hope—that this warning will be sufficient, and that no such irregularities will occur in the future.

This pastoral, as one would have expected, marked the beginning of a paper war. High churchmen acclaimed it as "one of the most important documents ever issued by an American Bishop." But the evangelicals were outraged. They at once rushed into print with replies.

The Rev. Stephen H. Tyng,¹² rector of St. George's Church, New York, took it as a party manifesto, traced its principles back to Laud, and justified his own conduct by the teaching and example of Bishops White, Griswold, Henry U. Onderdonk, and Wainwright. He reminded Potter that his vote and that of his parish had been cast for Potter as bishop, asserted that Potter had been elected mainly by the

¹²STEPHEN H. TYNG, SR., (1800-1885): see *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIX, 101-102. In the generation preceding Phillips Brooks, Tyng shared with Francis Lister Hawks the distinction of being the greatest preacher in the Episcopal Church.

support of the low church party, and charged that the men whom he now considered to be egging Potter on to take the position expounded in the pastoral had been the foremost opponents of his election. How much truth there was in these allegations I cannot say. They were certainly in pretty bad taste.

The Rev. E. H. Canfield, rector of Christ Church, Brooklyn, whose invitation to the Rev. Dr. Budington, a Presbyterian minister, to preach in Christ Church was one of the offences specifically aimed at by the pastoral, took the ground that the Anglican Church had always recognized the validity of non-episcopal orders.

The Rev. John Cotton Smith,¹³ rector of the Church of the Ascension, New York, in *A Plea for Liberty in the Church*, took different ground. He frankly stated that he had "no expectation that there will ever be any real or structural union in the Church of Christ, except upon the basis of Apostolic Episcopacy." He had always striven "that our Church should not descend from her catholic position to that of a denomination or sect." He defended his action in allowing the use of his pulpit on one occasion by a Protestant minister as an exceptional and abnormal practice justified by "the present abnormal state of Christendom."¹⁴

The Rev. William A. Muhlenberg,¹⁵ rector of the Church of the Holy Communion, who had invited a Lutheran minister to preach in his church *with the permission of the bishop*, took the offensive, and declared that the bishop was wrong in allowing the use of St. John's Chapel by a priest of the Eastern rite.

"THE TYNG CASE"¹⁶

The Rev. Stephen H. Tying, Jr., rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity, New York City, and son of the rector of St. George's, was a "radical low churchman" as distinguished from the "evangeli-

¹³JOHN COTTON SMITH (1826-1882) was unlike Tying in that he believed in the Church's making adjustment to new knowledge in theological and scientific fields—as Tying did not. See *D. A. B.*, XVII, 300-01.

¹⁴It is not the province of the historian to pass judgment on a question of controversial divinity. I would, however, like to record my opinion that of all the documents in the case, the pastoral included, the letter of the Rev. John Cotton Smith comes nearest to expressing the whole truth of the matter.

¹⁵WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG (1796-1877): See *above*, Note #8, for a recent appraisal; also, *D. A. B.*, XIII, 313-314.

¹⁶This "Case" evoked a shower of pamphlets, of which the principal ones are listed in the Bibliography at the end of this article. See also, White and Dykman, Note #11, *above*.

cal's."¹⁷ He had among his parishioners a layman by the name of Christopher Meyer, who, in the summer, attended St. James' Methodist Church in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Meyer, who considered the two Episcopal churches in New Brunswick as "outside the pale," persuaded the Methodist minister, the Rev. Dr. McClintock, to write Bishop William H. Odenheimer of New Jersey, under date of June 10, 1867, for permission to allow Mr. Tyng to supply his church during the month of August:

"A Presbyterian of your Church would be willing to take the service; but he says that your Canons are executed in New-Jersey more strictly than in some other Dioceses, and make it impossible. Is this so? Can you not relax these terrible rules? Please let me know."

Bishop Odenheimer referred the matter to the Rev. Drs. Alfred Stubbs, rector of Christ Church, and Edward B. Boggs, rector of the Church of St. John the Evangelist. Stubbs, writing for both priests, declined to give their permission, and, in spite of Tyng's well known contempt for them, made a counter offer:

"The friend to whom you allude can have the opportunity, if he wishes, to officiate in either of the Episcopal Churches in New-Brunswick; why, then, should he go out of his way to create commotion and discord? I appeal to your own impartial judgment in the case."

Under date of July 5th, Dr. McClintock replied:

"You may rest assured that I shall not break the peace, or even induce you to break it, by having our friend of your communion to minister at our altar."

The next week the New Brunswick newspaper carried a notice that Tyng would officiate both morning and evening the next Sunday, July 14th, in the Methodist Church. Under date of Friday, July 12th, Stubbs wrote Tyng in part as follows, the latter being a guest of Meyer's in New Brunswick:

"On consulting with the Bishop of the Diocese, he authorized me to say, that he would not suffer the laws of the Church to be violated with impunity, and I beg you, therefore, to desist from that service, which is plainly forbidden by the Twelfth Canon."

¹⁷See E. Clowes Chorley, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church* (New York, 1946) pp. 394ff.

"You will, I trust, readily comply with this request, prompted as it is by the earnest desire to preserve the unity and peace of the Church, and to promote concord among the brethren."

Tyng made no reply to the latter and officiated as advertised to do in St. James' Methodist Church. The next day, Drs. Stubbs and Boggs sent to the bishop of New Jersey a formal complaint, presenting Mr. Tyng for having violated the law of the Church, and the bishop forwarded the papers to the standing committee of the diocese of New York—Bishop Potter being absent, attending the Lambeth Conference in London. The standing committee appointed a committee of investigation, which found that the canon had been violated, and presented the offending priest for trial.

In February, 1868, the trial was held in New York before a court of five presbyters appointed by Bishop Potter. Its record was published *in extenso* in a fair-sized pamphlet, and makes entertaining reading for a winter afternoon. Both sides were represented by counsel, who endeavored to earn their fees by the usual harrowing of witnesses on irrelevant matters. One whole page of the evidence is taken up by questions and answers aimed to discover whether or not Mr. Tyng was playing croquet when Stubbs' letter of protest was delivered to him. A great deal was said about the duty of a Christian minister to proclaim the Gospel—at all times and in all places. St. Alban's Church kept bobbing up, like the flowers that bloom in the spring.

The gem of the whole collection of pamphlets is a long address to the court by the elder Tyng, which he was not allowed to deliver, but which he afterwards published. It treats the whole matter as a high church persecution, and makes a great play on the not very euphonious names of Stubbs and Boggs.

The real issue at stake, stripped of all verbiage, was simply this: Is a parish or cure a definite extent of territory, or is it confined to the enrolled Church members of a certain congregation? The court ruled that it was a geographical area, that Mr. Tyng had wantonly intruded into another's parish, that he was therefore guilty, and recommended that he be admonished by the diocesan.

On March 14, 1868, Bishop Potter performed what he called "a painful duty." As might have been expected, the admonition was a calm review of the case. The bishop reminded Tyng that twelve presbyters had been named to the defendant, of whom the latter could select five to make up the trial court. Tyng having refused the privilege of selection, the bishop had appointed them—"Presbyters who

were among the most intelligent, calm and dispassionate of their order in this Diocese." Moreover, they had

"discharged their duty with great patience, and with a fairness and judgment that will be generally recognized when the case comes to be fully understood. They allowed you a large number of able counsel, and they listened with commendable forbearance to arguments and discussions, which carried freedom of speech to its utmost limits, and left no form of appeal to popular prejudice and passion untried."

The trial board's conclusions, and the reasons for them, would, the bishop was sure, "commend themselves to the judgment and right feeling of the great body of the Church in this country."

"In all ages the Church has taken care to protect her ministers from unreasonable conflict and aggression; requiring that each pastor shall be left in quiet and security in this discharge of his ordinary duties in his own proper sphere. . . .

"The Canon in question is designed to prevent intrusion by one minister into the parochial cure of another. It is intended to prevent disturbance, from rivalry and conflict, and from the officiating of a strange Clergyman under circumstances calculated to give trouble to a peaceful minister, and to interfere with the quiet and order of his parish . . .

"If there were no such Canon in existence in this Church, it would be her duty to enact one with the least possible delay. So long as she should continue without it, she would be an exception to all true branches of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church since the time of the Apostles. She would be leaving both her shepherds and her sheep exposed to wolves."

Even without such a canon, the bishop further stated, "it would be the duty of a minister of this Church to abstain from acts, which must needs be regarded as intrusive, disturbing and impertinent toward his brethren."

Finally, the bishop dealt with the plea for "unrestricted liberty of preaching the Gospel, and the imperative duty of preaching it under any and all circumstances . . . fine sounding words . . . they have in them very little reason." What he said on that subject could be profitably pondered by each and every generation, for it is a gem of exposition on the meaning of law and order.

"If we become members of the Church of God, and much more, if we become its Ministers, we must conform to its truth, its order, its discipline. Our liberty is restrained. We are no longer independent thinkers, free to follow any wayward fancy of our own. We are not at liberty to preach any kind of

doctrine which our narrow and partial minds may invent. The main parts of our duty in the priesthood are all plainly and precisely set for us, and we are required to keep within the limits prescribed to us . . ."

"'As the Church hath received the same!' We are tied up to that—we are not free! If we cannot teach her doctrine fairly and justly, as it is deduced from her formularies, and taught by her great divines, without false glosses and distorted interpretations of our own, then we are bound to renounce her ministry . . ."

Quiet, firm, paternal, without a trace of anger or rancor, the admonition is a model of its kind. Eight years later, several of the younger Tyng's school of "radical low churchmen" seceded to organize the Reformed Episcopal Church; but Tyng did not go with them. Did Bishop Potter's admonition have anything to do with his remaining in the Church of his baptism? If he took seriously what the bishop had said to him, it did!

VII. Defender of the Faith

The verdict of the court, and Potter's admonition, were a decided defeat for the radicals. They were not the men to accept the defeat without further warfare. A memorial, signed by 133 priests and 969 laymen, was presented to the General Convention of 1868, petitioning for repeal or modification of the canon on intrusion. After a prolonged debate in the House of Deputies, all attempts at amendment or modification were defeated. The canon on intrusion stands to this day. The radical members of the low church party now set forth a specific platform of desired changes. They were, as summarized by Dr. Chorley:¹⁸

(a) A demand for clearer recognition of non-episcopal orders, by interchange of pulpits and Christian fraternization.

(b) The necessity for liberty to preach anywhere and everywhere, without regard to false interpretations of canon law.

(c) The appointment of a committee to revise the Prayer Book, so that the errors which crept into it at the Reformation, or were introduced in the subsequent revisions, particularly that of the Laudian period, might be expurgated.

This last point was the one of real seriousness. What the radical low churchmen were aiming at was an alteration of the baptismal office, to remove from it those expressions which plainly state that

¹⁸*O. cit.*, p. 395.

regeneration is effected by the sacrament of baptism. In 1869, nine bishops, representing various sections of the low church party, addressed to the other members of the episcopate a communication, in which they recommended alternative phrases to be allowed in the office of baptism of infants, which would afford relief to tender consciences.

Forty-eight hours after this letter was in print, Bishop Potter, departing from his accustomed reserve and slowness to act, issued a pastoral letter to the clergy and laity of the diocese of New York, vigorously opposing the proposal. He keenly notes that the nine bishops themselves "have always been fully persuaded that our Formularies of Faith and Worship, in their just interpretation, embody the truth of Christ, are warranted by the teaching of Holy Scripture, and are a faithful following of the doctrines professed and defended by our Anglican Reformers." He points out that churchmen, great churchmen, of all schools, "the Simeons, the Venns, the Cecils; such men as William Wilberforce, and Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta; our own Bishops White, Moore of Virginia, and Griswold," as well as Hooker and Herbert and Ken and Andrews and Jeremy Taylor, had found no difficulty in the Prayer Book as it stands. He feels that in practice the introduction of alternate phrases will give rise to strife, not allay it. And then, in a prophetic passage, he affirms that the Prayer Book will indeed be revised, but in a totally different direction; not by relaxation of doctrinal statements, but rather by recovery and restoration of Catholic formulas which have been lost. He saw in the future 1892 and 1928.

It was not to be expected that such a clear-cut statement would go unanswered. Two episcopal replies are in my hands—a very moderate one by Bishop Thomas H. Vail of Kansas, and a very indignant one by Bishop Alfred Lee of Delaware, who was always getting indignant over the atrocities of high churchmen. In this reply, Bishop Lee exclaims, "Is there aught in the position of the Bishop of New York which demands and justifies the manner and tone of this remarkable paper? Have we a new Rome on this side of the Atlantic?"¹⁹

The proposal to omit the word "regenerate" in the baptismal office, or to allow an alternative expression, came before the House of Bishops in the General Convention of 1871, and was by them sternly negatived. They would only go so far as to issue a statement, signed by all but

¹⁹*Papers on the Propositions of "The Nine Bishops"* (Philadelphia, 1871). Pp. 92. Section IV is by Bishop Lee; Section V, by Bishop Vail.

In 1874, Potter frankly recommended borrowing from Rome where Rome has something valuable to give. See his "Episcopal Address of 1874."

Bishop Odenheimer of New Jersey, that the use of the word did not indicate a "moral change" in the infant baptized. To this decision, all the older low church bishops agreed, apparently with enthusiasm. Once again, Potter had been on the side of history and the Church as a whole.

VIII. Advancing with the Age

In September 1874, Bishop Potter had completed twenty years of service as diocesan of New York. His annual address of that year is, naturally, something of a review of his episcopate, a review characterized by a pardonable pride. He had confirmed 56,598 persons, and ordained 266 priests. He had consecrated 110 new churches. He had seen 76 new parishes admitted into union with the convention. He had watched the annual income of the diocese multiply itself by six. After two dioceses had been carved out of its territory, there were still more priests resident in the diocese than in 1854.

But there was more than mere physical growth to be noted. He is happy that "year by year our Christian work has gone out more and more beyond the limits of the comfortable Parish. It has gone out to the highways and hedges. It has penetrated into the dark places of poverty, ignorance and sin." He goes on to enumerate the mission chapels erected within the city, free chapels for the worship of the poor, the opening of daily schools, the additions to the clerical staffs, with a special eye to work among the underdogs. He lists fifteen new hospitals, asylums, refuges of various sorts, erected within the term of his episcopate. In all this, he had been himself the leader, constantly pressing on clergy and laity the necessity of such institutions.

As one studies the record of this man, one is more and more impressed by his ability to assimilate new ideas, to see new avenues of work, to pick up and use the creative thought of younger and more aggressive men. This is well illustrated by one episode. The cathedral idea had been slow to take hold in this country. First advanced by Bishop Doane of New Jersey, little had been done up to 1868 to make it a reality. Hardly had the diocese of Albany been set apart, than its new head, Bishop William Croswell Doane, announced his determination to have a real cathedral. Now Bishop Potter was totally lacking in the buoyant optimism, the dashing leadership that marked both the Doanes. But in spite of his innate caution and conservatism, he was capable of learning. In 1872, having come to the conclusion that a cathedral was a necessity for such a diocese as New York had now be-

come, he boldly adopted the idea, and in 1873, the Cathedral of St. John the Divine was incorporated. As it stands today, incomplete, yet nevertheless the most magnificent house of God on the American continent, it is in some sense a memorial to the wisdom, sanity, and assimilative power of Horatio Potter.

It is a rare thing for a man who has passed his seventieth birthday to continue receptive to new ideas, to see new needs, to take the leadership in new ventures. This rare thing Bishop Potter achieved. His see city was rapidly becoming the most polyglot city in the world, as immigrants from all over Europe streamed through Ellis Island.^{10-a} This fact was to Bishop Potter both a challenge and an opportunity. Thus, in his convention addresses of 1876 and 1877, he presses on the diocese the need for Church work among these new Americans, and encourages the formation of foreign language congregations.

About the year 1878, when he was seventy-six, one begins to notice the first signs of slowing up. No wonder, in view of his age and the fact that he had no assistant bishop to help him oversee the largest diocese, then as now, in The Episcopal Church! Today, a bishop *must* retire at the age of seventy-two. The bishop's convention addresses became notably shorter. For the first time in his episcopate, he has nothing new to say. But he was still able to continue the routine work of his office. But in June, 1883, the bishop then being eighty-one years old, he suffered a severe attack of pneumonia. On his partial recovery, he was informed by his physician that he would no longer be able to carry on the tremendous burden of work that faces the bishop of New York. At the convention of 1883, he was not present, but addressed a letter to the convention, explaining the circumstances, and placing the decision for the future entirely in the hands of the convention. The convention therefore determined to elect an assistant

^{10-a}In the decade of 1831-1840, the total number of immigrants was only 599,125; in the next decade, 1841-1850, immigration began in earnest, and the total for that decade was 1,713,251. Potter's episcopate began in 1854. During the fifty year period, 1831-1880, the total immigration was 10,037,605. Speaking roughly, 77 per cent of this total—7,725,229—arrived during Potter's episcopate, distributed as follows:

1851-1860	2,598,214
1861-1870	2,314,824
1871-1880	2,812,191
Total, 1851-1880	7,725,229

But even heavier immigration marked the closing years of his episcopate, and continued until 1930.

[See Walter H. Stowe, "Immigration and the Growth of The Episcopal Church," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XI(1942), pp. 330-361.]

bishop. On September 27, 1883, on the third ballot, the Rev. Henry Codman Potter, rector of Grace Church, New York, and a nephew of the bishop, was elected assistant bishop. He was consecrated on October 20th. The bishop of the diocese immediately turned over to him all jurisdiction, and until his death on January 2, 1887, lived in complete retirement.

What did New Yorkers think of their bishop? On the twenty-fifth anniversary of his consecration—Saturday, November 22, 1879—when Bishop Potter was seventy-seven years old, they proceeded to demonstrate by outward and visible signs what they thought. At eleven o'clock on that day, the Holy Eucharist was celebrated in Trinity Church, with neighboring bishops present and an immense congregation, which filled the church. After the Creed, an address was presented by a deputation of clergy and laity, to whom Bishop Potter made a reply.²⁰

On that morning, the *New York Tribune* published a long editorial under the title, "A Blameless Bishop." Since this was undoubtedly an expression of lay opinion, it is both interesting and significant.

"The whole community, without religious distinction, will be interested in this recognition of work well done under circumstances of peculiar delicacy and difficulty. Bishop Potter has been temperate when rashness would have been easy, and conciliatory when he might have been offensive. Though sometimes sorely tried, either by those of his clergy who went too far, or by those who did not go far enough in their ideas of priestly duty, he has been sparing and tenderly paternal in his rebukes. Patient under occasional provocation, he has steered his way between Tractarian and Tepidarean, without scandalous collision."

The editor disclaims any intention of intimating that "Bishop Potter has been, in any offensive sense of the word, a trimmer. The most minute inspection of his record will discover no great principle neglected, no true position abandoned, no rule of the Church conveniently disregarded. At the same time he has not been a fretful disciplinarian . . . He has not acted as if a true soldier of the Cross must be like some military martinet . . ."

"Fortunately he has been so uniformly amiable, and has brought to the discharge of his duties such uncommon common sense, that at the end of twenty-five years remarkable for new

²⁰Morgan Dix, "The Sixth Bishop of New York," in *The Centennial History of the Diocese of New York*, edited by James Grant Wilson (New York, 1886), pp. 196-97.

views and much religious speculation he does not stand responsible for a single schism, and has had hardly one important desertion. If there are those who think that this has been an easy thing to do, it is because they know nothing about the matter."

Here the editor touches on an important point, the significance of which we can appraise better than he could, since we have the advantage of perspective. In addition to the existing acute tension between high and low churchmen, the intellectual revolution of the nineteenth century—one of the greatest in the history of mankind—got under way during Potter's episcopate, popularly dated from 1859 and the appearance of Darwin's *Origin of Species*. This led to the emergence of the Broad Church school.

"It is for his own people to extend to Bishop Potter their particular congratulations; but all who desire decency and order, who are scandalized by the spectacle of church quarrels, who love to see men consistent in creed and conduct, and who think peacemakers to be indeed blessed, will also remember in a kindly spirit this amiable prelate."

The editor then touches on prophecy, for he could not know who would be Horatio Potter's successor. The latter's election was four years later than this editorial. But it raises the interesting question, "How much did Henry Codman Potter owe to his uncle's magnificent work and example for the success which he, the nephew, achieved?" Too often we forget to "praise godly men, and our fathers that begat us," spiritually as well as otherwise. For Henry's own father, Alonzo, had died in 1865, and most of Henry's presbyterate was spent in his uncle's diocese.

"We will not say that after him will come the deluge, but when at last he is called to his great reward—distant be the day!—we do think that his place will be a hard one to refill. He will, however, leave the legacy of his example. He has shown that to patience, to wisdom and to Christian love nothing is impossible. He has made the way of his successor easy, if only that successor shall find grace to follow it."²¹

On the following Tuesday, November 25th, a reception was given to Bishop Potter in the Academy of Music, which "was crowded to its utmost capacity by an audience among the most remarkable which ever assembled in this city." Following addresses by the president of

²¹Morgan Dix, "The Sixth Bishop of New York," in *The Centennial History of the Diocese of New York*, edited by James Grant Wilson (New York, 1886), pp. 195n-97n.

Union College, from St. Peter's Church, Albany, from the standing committee of the diocese of Albany, by William M. Evarts and John Jay, a very beautiful and elaborate piece of silver was presented to the bishop. Morgan Dix, who was there, thus describes the moving scene which ensued:

"The venerable bishop . . . made his response; and as he advanced to do so, the immense audience rose, and remained standing while he spoke to them. A sight more impressive in its way has probably never been seen; it was rendered the more affecting by the reflection that these were, for the most part, his own children in the faith, communicants of the various parishes, great numbers of them persons on whose heads his hands had been laid in confirmation, men and women who stood thus reverently before him as their Father in God, to hear his words of affectionate greeting and to receive his pastoral benediction. The sight can never be forgotten by those who had the good fortune to be present."²²

I have attempted, in this brief study, to lay bare the public career of a man whom I consider one of the greatest of American bishops. His official life was lived in a blaze of publicity, though he was the last man in the world to be a publicity hound. Inevitably, one wants to look behind the bishop to the man. We know what Horatio Potter was like in the pulpit, or presiding at a diocesan convention, or sitting in the House of Bishops. But what was he like in his hours of relaxation, in the bosom of his family, among his intimates? And here we are met with a complete blank. The most reticent of men about his personal affairs, when he left his office, he withdrew completely from public view. In Bishop Henry C. Potter's *Reminiscences of Bishops and Archbishops*, there is just one little story about his uncle—a most significant story:²³

One of the least demonstrative of his [Bishop Eastburn's] associates walked to the desk where I was making a record of the bishop's death [in 1872], and putting his finger upon the name that I had just written said, "I shall miss him greatly." (They had not a theological conviction in common). "He was the only man who always called me 'Horatio'!"

²²Morgan Dix, "The Sixth Bishop of New York," in *The Centennial History of the Diocese of New York*, edited by James Grant Wilson (New York, 1886), pp. 197-98.

²³(New York, 1906), pp. 69-70.

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Christian Views on Human Labor, 1500-1860

From Martin Luther to Samuel Smiles

By Joseph Fletcher*



OUR philosophies of work and our labor practices have a long history. Many of the attitudes by which we live, individually and collectively, are more implicit than explicit. Yet in a time of social change and conflicting ideologies when, as at present, we find ourselves compelled to reexamine our assumptions, it is required of us in the interests of perspective to know the history of work-theories, if we are to think out anything like a creative conception of labor to suit the new structures of wealth and technology which cause our generation so many growing pains. As Archbishop Temple said, "above all, we have acquired and inherited the historical point of view, which more than anything else is the real distinction of the modern mind."¹

What follows therefore is a summary study of the history of work in the modern period, from the end of the Middle Ages to the high-energy society of industrial capitalism. It is, thus limited in time, only a contribution to a complete account which needs to be made over a wide sweep of history, in the spirit of Adriano Tilgher's *Work*, but with a more circumstantial analysis of each period in social development. This particular study pays little attention to medieval or patristic backgrounds, and it does not carry through to the twentieth century pattern of advanced technology with mass production and monopoly finance.

England will provide the perspective. The main difference between English and Continental developments is in the time factor rather than the pattern, England's enterprise having taken the lead and therefore in large part set the precedents.

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¹William Temple, *Christianity and the State* (London, 1928), p. 27.

The Reformers

Martin Luther's revolt gave a spearhead to the Reformation. The Reformation marked the end of the medieval social order and its cultural integument. The Reformation was not the cause of social change; it was itself an aspect of the change from feudalism to modern economy, from aristocratic to middle class ideals. As one English champion of the rising bourgeoisie expressed it,

"the Papists and Tories must of course have an aversion to a thing that gave strength to the first Reformers, and settled the Reformation in Europe. Hardly a free city or Hanse-town in Germany, where trade flourished, but the Reformation was embraced . . . This must be a Terrible Grievance to Torism and Popery, and they cannot think of the Services done by the Protestant Republic . . . to Religion and Liberty, to do which they have been enabled by Trade only, without an abhorrence of the very Name of Trade."²

By "religion" and "liberty" this writer (an anonymous pamphleteer) meant, of course, Protestantism and free enterprise. He wrote at a time when capitalism had broken through the restrictive controls of feudal hierarchy and was fighting its way through the state controls of mercantilism to free trade. His remark is quoted to bring out the fact that the religious pattern of opinion followed the economic pattern, and not *vice-versa*. It is important to see the sequence here, because the so-called "Weber-Tawney thesis" that the Reformation led to capitalism has been widely popularized (and somewhat oversimplified in the process). Research in the past thirty years has forced us to modify any such view. Sombart, Brentano, Robertson and George O'Brien have shown solid grounds for denying that it was the Reformation ethic or theology which brought *laissez-faire* economy into being, as if full-fledged from the brain of Jove. Their strictures have to be put alongside the work of Tawney, Weber, Ashley and Shulz-Gaevernitz, who had always insisted on the reciprocal relation between the two, with Weber putting the heaviest emphasis upon the religious ideology as a cause rather than an effect.

Now, since a certain conception of work lay at the heart of the newly born economic morality and its practices, it might be worthwhile making a brief comment on the connections of religion and capitalism. It still seems the safest statement of the matter to say:

²*Torism and Trade Can Never Agree* (London, 1713) British Museum 807.8.

"The sound historical position is (1) that before the Reformation economic individualism, though struggled for, was never 'respectable' or countenanced by Church *dicta*, (2) that Protestantism in its earliest stage was opposed to capitalism as much as medieval ethics had been, and (3) that Protestantism capitulated first, and in a positive and sympathetic degree that has never been true of Catholic thought. The reason for this last fact is, perhaps, to be found more in theology than in secular history. The submission of Christianity to the new economic forces, ethical and systemic, was undoubtedly due in large measure to the controlling influence of economic interests. There is that much bearing on the question from the materialist point of view. But the explanation of Protestantism's readier submission, both in time and degree, is to be discovered, fundamentally, in its essential individualism and its rejection of a sacramental principle which never admits of any final separation between spiritual and material things. A view of the pathway to God and grace as spiritually alone and independent led naturally to the false self-sufficiency of *laissez-faire*."²

Look for a moment at the picture as the Middle Ages ended. Feudalism was collapsing, and with it the manorial community and its aristocratic *mores*, including the chivalric principle of *noblesse oblige*. Cities were growing, purely local markets were now expanding, with normal trade relations reaching out into provincial and even wider areas. Gold and silver, imported from America, were ending barter and magnifying the role of the merchant for whom wealth was neither tool nor product but only commodity and profit. Labor was rising fast to a new role, too, with much greater bargaining power and position, although the burghers (the city men, the merchants and master-craftsmen) were rising in the power scale infinitely faster. The known world, and therefore its trade routes, had tripled and quadrupled after the voyages of discovery and the reconnaissance of the merchant-adventurers. It was a middle-class era, with the democratic struggle against aristocracy as the *conditio sine qua non* for freedom of enterprise and bourgeois class dominance.

As for the working class, both peasants and town laborers, this was not their day. Political democracy was the triumph (and the prerequisite) of the rising entrepreneurs, just as Magna Charta has been the charter of the nobles' liberty from the crown. In neither case were the masses of expropriated people, with only their labor to sell, much better off. The Statutes of Labourers enacted at the end of the Middle

²Joseph Fletcher, "Religion and Capitalism in History," *Christendom: A Journal of Christian Sociology*, Oxford, June, 1934.

Ages were an attempt to control the wages and working conditions of labor, but in the interests of their masters in the manors. The Black Death in the fourteenth century is variously estimated to have brought about the deaths of thirty per cent to fifty per cent of the population. An even higher percentage of the peasants died. Inevitably, rents fell, wages and prices rose, the landlords were frantic in a labor-market shortage. They passed the Statutes as an attempt to hold labor by law to the great manorial estates. On the other hand, the burghers were glad to get this "free" labor when peasants slipped into the towns, and, whenever they could, the rising bourgeoisie pressed for the enclosure of common lands, to force the peasants by hunger to flee to the tradesmen in the towns. Labor was a pawn in the struggle between the old feudal and agrarian economy and the new capitalist and merchant-industrial economy.

Thus, Samuel Fortrey in 1663 argued that enclosures were good policy because they increased the value of the land, and, even if the common people were forced off, they could go into the industries in which they would "infinitely conduce the Increase and Plenty of this Nation." Fortrey dedicated his work to Charles II, but that prince and his successor so persisted in smelling the odor of middle-class interests rather than national interests that Fortrey and his colleagues ended by exiling James II in 1688 in a little revolution of their own. They replaced him with an importation from Holland, William of Orange, who was more reasonable, or at least more amenable. Incidentally, Mr. Fortrey was also of the opinion, in the same treatise, that Protestantism was England's proper faith because "in humane Prudence [it] is most Eligible," and tends to "a Wealthy and Industrious People."⁴

The early reformers were not modernists in their economic and political views. It took some time to reach Fortrey's mind-set. Luther was both conservative socially and also unable to give creative leadership to the social forces that turned to his backing. He still cherished the princes more than the Fuggers and their merchants, with or without Bibles in their boots. His role in the suppression of the peasants' revolts is as reactionary and labor-baiting as any man's of his day. Tawney sums up his place neatly:

"Luther's utterances on social morality are the occasional explosions of a capricious volcano, with only a rare flash of light amid the torrent of smoke and flame, and it is idle to scan them

⁴*England's Interest Considered, in the Increase of Trade of this Kingdom* (London, 1663) B. M. 807.1.

for a coherent and consistent doctrine. Compared with the lucid and subtle rationalism of a thinker like St. Antonino, his sermons and pamphlets on social questions make an impression of naiveté, as of an impetuous but ill-informed genius, dispensing with the cumbrous embarrassments of law and logic, to evolve a system of social ethics from the inspired heat of his own unsophisticated consciousness."⁵

Adolph Harnack, addressing an Evangelical-Social Congress in 1903, said:

"Indeed, it must be . . . admitted that the Roman Catholics are justified in asserting that theirs, not ours, was the revival of charitable work in the sixteenth century, and that, as far as Lutheranism was concerned, the practical social problem was soon in worse plight than before."⁶

Luther was really as rigid about the aspirations of the middle class as he was about the aspirations of the working-class. Troeltsch has described his views as follows:

"The economic order consists essentially in this: to live within one's own class, according to the social standard of that class . . . It is against all law, both Natural and Divine, to wish to rise in the world, to break through existing institutions on one's own free initiative, to agitate and destroy Society by individual efforts, to improve one's manner of life, or to improve one's social position."⁷

It was John Calvin and his successors, later on, who accepted the new order and garnished it with religious sanctions.

For example, on the subject of industry Luther held a very ascetical and medieval view. He said, "We ought to be satisfied with a very moderate standard of living . . . not day and night try to reach something higher."⁸ It was not until Calvin took hold that the Reformers began to speak of industry as a means to, and a mark of, justification and election. In connection with this new philosophy of work, however, as it found an apologetic in Calvinism and Puritanism, it is very important to understand that the "industry" thus extolled was not creative work or productive labor but "enterprise," meaning the early and relatively primitive forms of labor exploitation for commercial success. Not human labor but business success was the sign

⁵*Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York, 1926), p. 88.

⁶*Essays on the Social Gospel* (London, 1907), p. 50.

⁷*Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (London, 1931), II, 555.

⁸*Kaufhandlung*, BA, 527, cited by Troeltsch, note 269.

of a man's justification. This contrast between the social outlook of the early and later Reformers may be seen in other matters, such as usury and interest, and the just price. Luther, the German peasant, raged against the new commercialists. Calvin, the French lawyer, calmly went along with them.

Luther expressed his conception of work primarily in his own version of *Beruf*, the "calling" to a vocation in life which denied the old ascetical distinction between sacred and secular service, all things in Luther's view being to the glory of God. However, though Luther abolished the sacred-secular antinomy of the Catholic moralists, he nevertheless followed the medieval view that work in itself was a *justification*, a discipline providing a *remedium peccati* made necessary by the fall of man. The virtue of work, for Luther, lay in the work itself, not in any economic gain or loss it brought. This is to be compared with the Calvinist view, developed later on, that work was a *means* to justification, the justification or favor of God being demonstrated when wealth and social position came of it. And, of course, among the pious tradesmen who acquired wealth and power from their enterprise, thus justifying them in their hope of election, no distinction was made between the wealth they got from their own labors and the wealth they accumulated through profit on the labor of others! Hence it was, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that capital accumulation was surrounded by overtones of salvation for the new rulers of society.

This is the broad background to any consideration of work principles in the new economic morality of capitalist culture. It underlines three important points about the change-over from medieval to modern social economy. The first is that changes in religious teachings, on the whole, followed rather than preceded economic changes. The second is that Protestantism accommodated itself more easily to capitalist morals and practices than Catholicism, even though the early Reformers were more traditional and "Catholic" than the later Reformers (as we should expect, if we accept the first point). The third is that ideas about work went through a bigger change than the actual conditions of the vast mass of those laborers who actually did the work. Their labors were shifted from country to town, from farm to factory, but their *standard of living* remained much the same (even suffering a loss in such respects as housing, sanitation and food-security).

Now we can move on to certain observations about more specific matters, such as labor bargaining and wage contracts, remuneration and labor value, organization in guilds and trade unions, labor con-

sciousness and class struggle, and labor legislation. In each respect there will be a notable bearing of religious teachings.

Labor Bargaining

St. Paul wrote in II Thessalonians 3:10, "If any would not work, neither should he eat." Christendom has always seen fit to apply this rule as fitting and proper, except in the case of those who enjoy a property right in the fruit of others' labors. What we nowadays call the "coupon-clipper" has always been an exception to the rule. However, in the Middle Ages it had been frankly asserted that those of high "station" should enjoy this immunity from the rule of *remedium peccati*. Also, certain scholarly and contemplative "religious" could rightly enjoy the fruits of labor without laboring and yet without sinning. In short, in the medieval outlook a leisure class was defended in theory as well as in practice. The universality of the rule of work was qualified. In the new morality of the new economic era, it was not so.

The change took place basically on the level of property relations. In the medieval order, even the meanest peasant had held certain inalienable rights in the means of production, in the land which was the chief instrument of production in an agrarian economy. Inevitably, this principle broke down when the bourgeois employer of the town enticed the peasants to him with offers of higher income and the variety of urban life. Those who could not be enticed to leave the security of their manorial "vested interest" and the two-way obligations of enfeoffment, were forcibly torn from the land by enclosure methods. The middle-class thus created for itself a vast reservoir of "free labor," which was to be free not only of feudal ties but also free of any claim upon the means of production, any property rights, except in the labor they had to offer when anybody wanted it! Labor thereafter was bargained for in a "free labor market," where it could be bought and sold by "free" contract, which meant it could be bought at the lowest price possible and its product sold at the highest price possible. Labor thus became a commodity like anything else, its value determined by the competitive measure of supply and demand. This so-called "emancipation" of labor developed over three centuries, until it reached its late conception in the Manchester School of theory as an openly avowed commodity, having no personal status whatever, and being listed as a mere factor of production along with land and capital. Any "orthodox" treatise on economics takes this position today, as may be seen, for example, in *The American Individual Enterprise System*, an official account of the economic *status quo* (an extremely lucid and

candid two volumes), published officially by the National Association of Manufacturers.

Did religious teaching contribute anything to this expropriation of labor, so persuasively interpreted as emancipation by the pamphleteers of political democracy? Yes. The reformers, especially of the the Puritan sort, were able to give it a certain pious flavor by earnest stress upon the "virtue of diligence." In the Middle Ages, work was regarded, apart from its disciplinary role, as the expiation of original sin, as only a means to end, i. e., leisure for spiritual things. But the new men of religion bore down upon work as the only safe way to avoid the mischief that waits for idle hands to do. Incidentally, of course, the more work that was done, the more profit was made, for somebody, usually for a respectable Puritan elder rather than for the worker himself. Thus, there was no patience available for the spectacle of "idleness" even in honor of the saints, no matter if those who feasted had reason to believe they could manage to make ends meet. The new men of religion were not interested in making ends meet; they were embarked upon a pretty stiff and demanding campaign of capital accumulation.

As Sir Josiah Child said in 1694, "Lessening the number of our Holy-days would increase the days of working, and working more would make us Richer."⁹ In the same treatise, Sir Josiah pointed out that "some relaxation of the ecclesiastical Laws" would be sure to "invite others to us and consequently encrease the number of our Hands in Trade."¹⁰ Sir William Petty, in his *Essays in Political Arithmetick*, took the same line: "in that part of Europe, where the Roman Catholick Religion, now hath, or lately hath had establishment; there three Quarters of the whole Trade, is in the hands of such as have separated from the Church." Petty even estimated that Protestants controlled three-fourths of the whole world's trade.¹¹ In a report to the Lord Lieutenant of Irish affairs, Sir William recommended: (1) "That the People be persuaded from the observation of superfluous Holy-days," (2) "That the exhorbitant Number of Popish-priests and Fryers may be reduced to a bare competency, as also the number of Ale-houses," (3) "That the Constable, Sheriff and Bailiffs may also be English Protestants (though upon Salary)."¹²

And so by the time that Englishmen began importing kings from Protestant Europe, and the Bank of England had the only lawful

⁹*A New Discourse of Trade* (London, 1694), p. 171.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 169.

¹¹*Several Essays in Political Arithmetick* (London, 1699) no pag.

¹²*The Political Anatomy of Ireland* (London, 1691).

"pyx" in the realm (its gold vault was actually given that name, suggesting a new sacramental orientation!), diligence was the cardinal virtue of the land. Its twin virtue, of course, was thrift. The two went hand in hand, as the ideological tools which best fitted a stage of economic development that called above all else for any and every encouragement in the capital accumulation and savings that were needed, to meet the demands of expanding markets and more expensive industrial and transport facilities.

But we must not imagine that this partnership of Puritan work-ideology and capitalist accumulation was easily or promptly formed as a coalition. It was full blown by the English Revolution, but only after long misgivings in the religious half of the house. A hundred years earlier under Queen Bess, the religionists were unhappy about it. Listen to William Fulbecke in his *Booke of Christian Ethicks or Moral Philosophie*: "therefore to care for the morrow, which perhaps we shall not see, or cramme our Barnes, of whose fatness we shall not eate, is it not a folie, a miserie and a madness?"¹³

Nor were obscurantist clergymen, clinging to other human ties than commercial, and other values than profit, the only ones with doubts about the new dispensations of wealth, power and morals. The workers themselves were having their doubts, even though they were on perspective "too little and too late." Take this dialogue of ferry-men on the London banks of the Thames in 1681:

Will. Besides, this member told me, the parsons must use the surplice no more.

Sam. That was only for the good of the woolen manufacturer. I carried a clothier over the ferry, not long since, that said they were hereafter to wear flannel surplices, and the bishops were to wear white crape, instead of lawn sleeves.¹⁴

Or, again, we can quote a verse from the naughty Marchmont Nedham, who never ceased to lampoon the middle-class elders during the Roundhead era.

"Our wise Reformers, brave and gay,
Have ta'en a goodly course,
To fight, to feast, to fast and pray,
And milk each honest purse.

¹³London, 1587, p. 48.

¹⁴*Harleian Miscellany*, II, 111-127.

There lies the cream of all the cause;
 Religion is but whig;
 Pure privilege eats up the laws,
 And cries, 'For Kings a fig.'"¹⁵

Storm Jameson has summed it up well:

"The history of the Puritan revolution in England is made up of two currents, the one economic, or economic-political, the other religious. These currents are nearing their point of juncture during the reign of Henry VIII. They join in the reign of Mary. But for many years after that, like the Blue and White Niles, they run side by side unmixed, the waters retaining their individual colour; and it is not until the early Stuart kings that they merge and take on the same sombre hue."¹⁶

In any case, the total result was the establishment of the capitalist wage system of labor contract in place of medieval serfdom, and acceptance of the idea that, except for those who own the means of production, nobody has the *moral right* to lay claim to income, except by his labor. In a scarcity economy, that philosophy could be a "scandal" (stumbling-block) and threat only to the lazy and the impractical. But in our own time, in the twentieth century of high labor-productivity, we are beginning to see that if we abide by any such morality we shall have to decrease production, disemploy thousands and millions, remain at war indefinitely, or redistribute the proceeds of enterprise. (Perhaps we ought to be spending more time talking about how we can get out of such a pattern of work-moralism rather than about how we got into it!)

Wages and Labor Value

In the Middle Ages, the doctrine of the Just Price, with its medieval preeminence in economic morality and its latter-day value as a precedent for modern price-control policies, also had a bearing upon wages. The Just Price, which was enforced in casuistry and confessions with religious as well as civil sanctions, was determined by the *consensus gentium* to allow not only for the cost of materials but also for the payment of the labor involved, at a level necessary to maintain the craftsman or laborer in his proper social station. It was

¹⁵*A Short History of the English Rebellion. Completed in Verse* (London, 1661).

¹⁶*The Decline of Merry England* (London, 1930).

this kind of "functional" but rigidified class structure which Luther accepted but Calvin rejected, just as the feudal lords accepted it and the rising bourgeoisie overthrew it. Luther, in fact, repeated the view of Thomas Aquinas that labor was to bring a just price, meaning a price calculated to award benefits according to class position, for both Luther and Aquinas followed the explanation of "just price" for labor given earlier by Langenstein, to mean what was necessary to maintain the worker's station as a serf, villein, freeman, craftsman or the like.¹⁷

It was at this point that an important change took place in work or labor theory. In breaking loose from the social stratifications and fixed class barriers of the medieval order, the middle-class business men also freed the peasants and growing proletariat of the towns. This result, of course, suited the business man's book, because he was in need of "free" labor with which to fill a "labor market," in which men's work could be bought competitively without fear or favor of any Just Price or feudal regulations. For this reason, the anti-monarchists and anti-establishmentarians of England, who were also in most cases the men of the Reformed religion and of the merchant class, fought hard against the remaining feudal controls of employment, especially those based on the Statute of Artificers of 1562. In their place they set up the principle of no regulations or protection of labor (as a part of the general liberal rule that "the least government is the best government"), so that wages could be as much determined by a hard bargain as the prices of any commodity. We may repeat, in this connection, that labor was converted into a commodity as fully as impersonal and inanimate things of economic value. As two anti-Christian students, Marx and Engels, later put it:

"The bourgeoisie, wherever it got the upper hand, put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations, pitilessly tore asunder the motley ties that bound man to his 'natural superiors' and left remaining no other bond between man and man than naked self-interest and callous cash payment."¹⁸

Medieval labor has never been denied its unique value as a personal phenomenon, *at least in theory*. It was the new morality of capitalist culture which created a commodity theory of labor *in theory and principle*. The common practice in both cultures was to put property values higher than human values. Yet in principle it still remains true that there was a vast difference. It is frequently said that the medieval theory was a labor-theory of value, comparable to the

¹⁷Cf. Troeltsch, *Social Teachings*, II, 554-560.

¹⁸*The Communist Manifesto*.

Marxian theory. This is almost correct, but not quite. As Dom Bede Jarrett once remarked, moral theologians such as St. Antonino and Bernadino of Florence insisted on "the principle, rightly understood, which Karl Marx has in recent years made so popular, that the value of things commercial . . . depends upon labour, whether of head or hand."¹⁹ Tawney has gone so far as to say that the "true descendant of the doctrines of Aquinas is the labor theory of value. The last of the Schoolmen was Karl Marx."²⁰ Now, it is quite true that the Schoolmen denounced usury because (among other reasons) it cost no labor. But O'Brien and Robertson and others have shown with sufficient evidence that medieval theorists also allowed for considerations of utility and exchange value in estimating prices of goods. The significant thing is that the modern business men have succeeded in determining wages, the price of labor, entirely by considerations of its utility (to them, of course, not to the worker), and by considerations of its exchangeability, and yet all this without respect to any inherent value in labor itself! Perhaps an even more significant fact, for students of the cultural and ideological role of religion, is that Protestantism has accepted this change without protest.

Guilds and Trade Unions

We have already indicated the new economy's success in overthrowing all of the medieval "organic" society's controls on wages and working conditions, controls which had been matters of civil and canon law, also enforced by the machinery of the craft guilds. The new business men soon began to denounce them as "monopolies," which artificially held wages at a high rate. These protests are still made, in spite of legislation painfully won over a long period of struggle by unions in support of collective bargaining and minimum wage laws. But early in the modern epoch, laws were passed by the merchant-commoners outlawing the old guilds, and subsequently their modern union counterparts, as criminal conspiracies in restraint of "free trade." The Protestant churches maintained a sedate quiet when the guilds were killed off, and only belatedly began to give a timid approval to them in principle after they were revived by modern unionists as legitimate associations. Here too religious teaching was *ex post facto*, following the course of events rather than preceding it.

¹⁹St. Antonino and *Medieval Economics* (London, 1924), p. 64.

²⁰*Op. cit.*, p. 36.

By the time of the Industrial Revolution, capitalism had fully established the system of free individual contracts as the dominant type of employment relations. American trade-unionists immortalized them as "Yellow Dog Contracts," as they fought for collective bargains. Implicit in these *solus cum solo* contracts, at least among sincere men of modern business morality, was the idea that both parties were not only legally but actually free to bargain and grant or withhold, as they saw fit, their services and skills. As far as the worker was concerned, nothing could be farther from the truth. Their propertyless situation rendered the myth of "free employment" a palpable falsification of reality.

But as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, it was still the case that labor associations were not only bitterly but even righteously denounced on all sides. The churches had completely forsaken their traditional devotion to labor unions and sodalities, falling in completely with the bourgeois pattern. The Roman Catholic Church held to the pre-Reformation, pre-capitalist tradition of Christian ideals with somewhat greater tenacity.²¹ Methodism showed more concern for the working people than the Anglican establishment, but as the Hammonds have pointed out, "the teaching of Methodism was unfavorable to working-class movements; its leaders were hostile and its ideals perhaps increasingly hostile."²² Such was clearly the case between Methodism and the workers of the English Midlands at the end of the eighteenth century and before the Corn Laws in the nineteenth. Credit for religious concern really goes first to the Christian Socialists, who rose in their anger after the failure of the Chartist effort.²³

The long and short of it is that by 1800 capitalism had reduced "free" labor to atomistic helplessness, with the reformed religionists as conveniently quiet on that subject as they were about the treatment of labor as a commodity. Elders and vestrymen called their hired men "hands" on the farm and in the factory as blithely as any atheist or materialist might!

Labor Consciousness and Class Struggle

Any discussion of class consciousness or the workers' own conception of their role, before the last of the eighteenth century, must take care not to read back into history some of our more recent,

²¹Cf. Joseph Fletcher, *Catholic Social Reform in the Third Republic*, Stockholm, 1931.3; and M. Turmann, *La Developpement du Catholicisme Social*, Paris, 1900.

²²J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Town Labourer* (London, 1920), p. 287.

²³C. E. Raven, *Christian Socialism, 1848-1854* (London, 1920) *passim*.

modern attitudes. Certainly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was no class consciousness or a workingclass movement comparable to those of the present time, either with liberal or socialist motives. The self-consciousness of both workers and the propertied class has developed and chrystallized with the development and organization of productive forces, and the steady separation of interest and identity of the capital and labor groups, brought about in industrial production by technology and conflicts of interest between the parties involved.

We have noted how Luther opposed the peasants. His submission to the German magnates and to the divisive principle of national sovereignty is well known. Professor Rogers, an early pioneer in the scientific study of work history, once said that Luther "handed over the inhabitants of Northern Germany from the Pope to the King, and I am not sure that they did not make a change for the worse when the transfer came."²⁴ When the peasants rose in Swabia in 1525, with the cry "Christ has made all men free," Luther called them mad dogs, and asserted stoutly, "I shall always side with those who condemn rebellion, and be against those who cause it."²⁵ Quoting Rogers again,

"All that Luther did was to kick out the Pope, and put the king in his place, and the consequence is that, to me, the Lutheran reform is, of all religious reforms, the most shallow and contemptible that I know . . . When the peasants rose in revolt against the insupportable tyranny of their lords, the man who goaded those lords to take the bitterest revenge on the peasants was Luther himself."²⁶

Roger's language is over-emphatic, perhaps, and he might as an Englishman have gone on to say that the Reformation in his own country brought the same results to the English working class. All the reformers assisted in breaking up the unity (and the checks and balances) of Christendom, handing over the labor supply of various European economies to the local magnates for exploitation, without interference from any outside power of a pope's or an emperor's. This political atomism was essential to the bourgeois lords, who were already pushing the aristocrats out of the nest. The Reformation, not the Middle Ages, fabricated the Divine Right of Kings. The reformers then proceeded to fabricate their own dynasties cut to order, the English reformers and business men completing the job of their

²⁴J. E. Thorold Rogers, *National Life and Thought: A Series of Addresses* (London, 1891), p. 245.

²⁵*On Secular Authority*, 1526.

²⁶*Op. cit.*, p. 246.

revolution in 1688. When Beza revolted against Calvin's Divine Right theory after the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, and pled in his *De jure magisterium* for the sovereignty of the people and the right of revolution, this was an opening theological gun for the middle class, not for the broad masses of the people. (And, of course, having won their status as a class, they are in our own day as cold toward Beza's manifesto in their own turn as they are to a less theological appeal of the same kind, let us say, one by Citizen Tom Paine or Thoreau's *On the Right of Civil Disobedience*.)

When the Protestant Church establishments, the great territorial Reformed Churches, extending the parochialism of the village *land-kirche* to a much broader base, spoke of the people, they almost always meant the "best people," who now were no longer the nobles with crests and long curls, but the men with English-language Bibles and "round heads," trading diligently in the city's counting-houses, pushing merchant ships over the seven seas, and casting their votes in a Commons that called the tune for the Lords of Parliament.

However, some working class aspirations found a religious outlet in sectarian movements of the Baptists, the Mennonites, the Levellers, the Diggers, the Millenarians, and even in a slight degree in congregationalism and independency. The Diggers and their leader, Gerard Winstanley, offer a good example. The Diggers called themselves the Family of Love, but the popular name came from their communistic belief that the land should be a common possession, cooperatively tilled. Theirs was rather an agricultural religious communalism, reminiscent of the medieval idealism of John Ball, John of Kent, and their followers in Froissart's chronicle of Chaucer's day, to be compared with the Levellers, whose concern to achieve economic democracy was a genuine and contemporary lower middle class and urban worker's movement. A typical slogan was the Digger's couplet:

"Then Clubs and Diamonds cast away,
For Harts and Spades must win the day."²⁷

Thus we see the non-militant and even pacifist character of these religious-socialist movements of the time. The Diggers, in particular, were less utopian or ambitious than some, for they relied upon a modest start with the common lands still unenclosed, to bring them in the end to a new commonwealth.

The truth is that the working class was in a very depressed condition, jerked on and off the land, slumped in the cities, and (until

²⁷*The Diggers Mirth, etc.* (London, 1650) B. M. E. 1365.

Queen Anne was dead) beaten about by the wars between Puritans and Royalists of the nostalgic kind. The cynical Peter Heylyn remarked in 1621 (while the *Mayflower* still rode in the harbor at Plymouth) that England was "tearmed the Purgatory of Servaunts and the hell of Horses."²⁸ The long series of Poor Laws which were begun at this time were as much as anything else a device to exploit workers by preventing them from escaping to better work and wages in other parishes; they were simply a re-enactment by the bourgeois governors of the medieval Statutes of Labourers against which they had themselves revolted and fomented revolt in an earlier time. The same purpose, even resulting in conscripted labor until the days of Dickens, was behind the parish houses of correction. Professor Judges says,

"One of the chief interest-bearing legacies of the policy enshrined in the early statutes of labourers was the assumption that unemployment itself was a kind of vice, practiced only by those who challenged the prevailing order of society."²⁹

Religion played a large part in this class-conscious attitude of the middle class, right down persistently through the capitalist era. It reminds us of Vida Scudder's shrewd observation: "The poor have been regarded as sinners; secondly as victims; third as saviours . . . Sinners, victims, saviours; that is the formula under which the changing attitude toward the disinherited will be increasingly traced someday."³⁰ Yet it was not until the late nineteenth century that the workers came to have any historical role other than as horrible examples for middle class moralists, or clients for social workers.

In the sixteenth century, when the business men first got well under way, the old medieval sense of *noblesse oblige* was still strong enough to express concern for the poor and some social honesty about their position. For example, Queen Elizabeth's *Private Prayer Book* (1578) was the last Anglican devotional work with liturgical usage to do so. It said, "They that are snared and entangled in the extreme penury of things needful for the body, cannot set their minds upon Thee, O Lord, as they ought to do." The Puritans and later reformers soon put an end to that kind of religious realism by treating it as nonsense. It was too sentimental for their mood, and reflected a kind of religious "materialism" or "realism," which raised too many ethical questions about their own scramble for gain.

²⁸*Microcosmus*, by P. H. (Oxford, 1621), p. 244.

²⁹A. V. Judges, *The Elizabethan Underworld* (London, 1929), p. xxx.

³⁰*On Journey* (New York, 1937), pp. 148-149.

This pretentious moralism about class relations is revealed in the works of a Scot divine, John Weemse of Lathocker. Weemse, who was a sort of Puritan encyclopedist and moral theologian, listed the master's duties to his servant in the following order of importance; first, to command; second, to instruct; third, to feed; fourth, to correct; and last, to reward! Richard Baxter, whose directory is so famous, expresses much the same paternalism, an attitude which has persisted in spite of the counting-house psychology until fairly recent times. The seventeenth century middle class utopians, such as More, Campanella, and Bacon contributed little but sentiment to early bourgeois ideology. The money class was at last in power and intended to remain there. As the London goldsmith, Thomas Violet, put it as early as 1660: "the city of London gives the Rule of the Kingdom, and the Merchant of London for credit upon money rules the City."¹

Labor Laws

Reference has been made to vagrancy and poor laws as they affected work and the workers in the early stages of our modern period. It is worth noting that the new boards of trade and the lords justices agreed on enacting legislation to regulate and control the migrations of workers at the same time that they were busy eliminating all social controls over goods-exchange and investments. Let us look just a little farther into this interesting acceptance of control over labor and rejection of control over capital.

The first revolt of the business men was politico-religious, when in the Reformation they freed themselves from medieval and aristocratic ideology and hierarchy. Thus they broke out of the organic framework of medieval Christendom. Their second revolt was for economic freedom, when in the late seventeenth century they overthrew the social controls of enterprise (mercantilism) and set up the *laissez-faire* system of competition as "the life of trade." This new philosophy of enterprise, that law and government should not interfere with business, was finally formulated in a classical style by Adam Smith, in the theory that the greatest good of the greatest number is served by each man pursuing his own private interest. Using modern terms we might say that it was held that the best planning for the national welfare was no planning at all. How could they reason so?

There are three main reasons for it. The first and obvious one is their private and selfish interest. "Each man for himself and the devil

¹*An Appeal to Caesar* (London, 1660) B. M. 104.f.26.

take the hindmost" ceased to be a childish game-taunt and became a statement of principle at the heart of a new social morality. Secondly, they seemed to have transferred to economics their general Protestant plan of salvation as private. What would work in one field should work in the other. Luther's *solus cum solo* was hatching its social chickens. Finally, and most cleverly, they were turning the traditional Christian idea of Natural Law as an ethical regulator upside down. In patristic and medieval times, the Church had taught its version of the Stoic *lex naturae* as being an innate regulator of conscience, planted in the hearts of men by their Creator. But the reformers were smoothly converting the idea into the jungle ethic of competition, by reinterpreting it as a rule of what *is* rather than of what *ought to be*, an allegation of physical and material statistical averages rather than a moral norm, like a "law of nature" as seen in gravitation, sexual attraction or the behavior of gases! By this means they could argue that the right prices, the right wages, the right sales and production schedules, and the like, should be determined by unregulated "natural" competition and the "price mechanism" of supply-and-demand. Prices were to be fixed only by what they called the "natural market" and not by human conscience or choice. Writers like John Locke gave this jungle ethic a high intellectual plausibility. As late as the end of the nineteenth century, there were not advocates wanting who were (like Jevons) prepared to attribute price and wage fluctuations to the inexorable influence of the stars and tidal movements! As Meredith says,

"The society of educated men, the governing English class for which Adam Smith wrote, could enter into, even if it did not absolutely accept, views which were entirely alien from the England of Elizabeth. The conception of natural law and its power to produce a social equilibrium without the intervention of government had been developed in the meanwhile. This conception was one of the mainsprings of the impending economic revolution. It in part made the revolution possible; in part directed its course along lines unnecessarily evil."²²

The religious traditions of these men did not permit this clever, ideological transformation of Natural Law to take place too easily, as Meredith hints. Professor Hewins says: "the motives which some people apparently think came in with the spinning-jenny were as rife in the seventeenth century as they are now. The merchant then did not suppose, none but a philosopher ever did suppose, that if he un-

²²H. E. Meredith, *Economic History of England* (London, 1919), p. 181.

erringly followed his own interest the result would be the best possible for the community as a whole. On the contrary, there were instances, he believed, in which the individual gain might be the commonwealth's loss, and he was fond of using this argument against a rival trader or an organization of which he was not a member."³³

The only individualists whom they consistently denounced as a danger to the commonwealth were the independent or fractious workers. The only organizations they consistently denounced as "conspiracies" were the worker's unions. They protested righteously against laws to govern commerce at home and abroad, and in the same breath demanded laws like the Statute of Apprenticeship which practically bound artisans and agricultural laborers to their masters.

The long and short of it is that labor laws were common, punitive and restrictive in the new society, at the same time that general economic regulation was repudiated and called "reactionary mercantilism." We really do not need to say more.

Conclusion

For the first time, on a large and institutional scale, the new culture, born of the new social era, accepted and sanctioned in principle, as well as practice, what Jesus had said so scornfully; that in a wicked generation the social dynamic is to be found in the observation, "Where a man's treasure is, there will his heart be also." When Karl Marx elaborated his analysis of history in terms of class interest and class conflict, he was only describing a fact (but not for the first time).

In the earlier stages of the new era, this selfishness was a little more blatant. A man named Needham at the beginning of the English Revolution was paid fifty pounds down, and a premium of one hundred a year, by a grateful Parliament for writing the *Case of the Commonwealth of England Stated*. This semi-official document calmly stated the true case, "the greater part of the world being led more by Appetites of Convenience and Commodity than the Dictates of Conscience; and it is a more current way of Persuasion, by telling men what will be profitable and convenient for them to do than what they ought to do."³⁴

A hundred years later, the Rev. Josiah Tucker (1712-1799) complained in the preface to a collection of his sermons that he had been "repeatedly accused of having made the whole of Religion to consist in the Promotion and Extension of Commerce, or in other Words, of

³³W. A. S. Hewins, *English Trade and Finance* (London, 1892).

³⁴Cf. S. R. Gardiner, *Commonwealth* (London, 1897), I, 285.

making Trade my Religion; and that, according to my Theory, the most extensive Merchant, or the greatest Manufacturer, was therefore the best Christian."⁸⁵ The sermons thus prefaced completely justify the accusation, as the whole religious picture of his times did, until at last the Methodists revolted in one way and the Tractarians in another, when their time came.

Still another hundred years later, which takes us into the middle of the nineteenth century of industrial capitalism, we find the worthy Samuel Smiles (1812-1904) writing his tracts of pious counsel. No quotations are needed when we review his titles: *Character* (1871), *Thrift* (1875), *Duty* (1880), *Life and Labour* (1887). His prize piece of Protestant-Whig-prudence-and-Horatio-Alger was the volume on *Self-Help* (1859), which sold over 20,000 copies. In 1850, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge circulated a pamphlet on *Easy Lessons on Money Matters for the Use of Young People*, which gave this teaching: "It is curious to observe how through the wise and beneficent arrangements of Providence, men thus do the greatest service to the public when they are thinking of nothing but their own gain."⁸⁶ This reminds us of the story told years ago by Professor Rauschenbusch, about Lord Melbourne who stalked angrily out of Church because of a sermon on personal repentance, saying, "Things have come to a pretty pass when religion is made to invade the sphere of private life." His lordship had religion well under control in public life, and perhaps he feared he could not control the hearts of men if religion ever really got loose in that quarter!

Take this final bit on the philosophy of work, from the Rev. William Paley (1743-1805), the famous archdeacon, whose *Evidences* (1794) and argument from analogy with the help of a watch had so stirred theological circles. Paley said,

"Again, some of the necessities which poverty . . . imposes are not hardships, but pleasure. Frugality itself is a pleasure. It is an exercise of attention and contrivance which . . . produces satisfaction . . . This is lost amidst abundance. There is no pleasure in taking out of a large unmeasured fund . . . A yet more serious advantage which persons in inferior stations possess is the ease with which they provide for their children. All the provision which a poor man's child requires is contained in two words, 'industry and innocence' . . . Another article which the poor are apt to envy the rich, is their *ease*. Now here they mistake the matter totally . . . Rest is the cessation of

⁸⁵*Four Tracts with Two Sermons* (Gloucester, 1774), p. xiv.

⁸⁶Quoted by Jerome Davis, *Capitalism and its Culture* (New York, 1935), p. 402.

labour. It cannot therefore be enjoyed, or even tasted, except by those who have known fatigue. The rich see, and not without envy, the refreshment and pleasure which rest affords to the poor."

Thus spake the good man and theologian, in his *Reasons for Contentment: Addressed to the Labouring Part of the British Public*.³⁷

This kind of religious teaching offers some support for the opinion of Karl Marx that "Religion is the sigh of the hard-pressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, as it is the soul of soul-less circumstances. It is the opium of the people."³⁸ But only four years later, quite independently and without any knowledge of Marx, Canon Charles Kingsley wrote the same thing, as from a religious man with far better insight and more circumstantial knowledge of the Church and its gospel, in an editorial to the English workers:

"It is our fault, our great fault, that you should sneer, sneer at the only news (The Bible) that ought to be your glory and your strength. It is our fault. We have used the Bible as if it were the special constables' hand book,—an opium dose for keeping beasts of burden patient while they were being overloaded—a mere book to keep the poor in order."³⁹

All of this is in the background of the problems of labor and working class activity which are screaming out for solution today, confronting Christian witness and political genius. We will fail to understand them and to remember them and take them into account, only at our peril.

³⁷London, 1793, pp. 11-12.

³⁸*Essay on Hegel's Philosophy of Law* (1844).

³⁹*Politics of the People*, editorial of May issue, 1848.

Book Reviews

I. American Church History and Biography

The Anglican Church in New Jersey. By Nelson R. Burr. Philadelphia, The Church Historical Society. 1954. Pp. xvi, 768. \$10.00.

AN AMERICAN REVIEW

After the excellent editorial review of this book in the September 1954 number of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, another review would seem to be superfluous, redundant, and a work of supererogation. But no doubt, in asking the undersigned to give his impressions of Dr. Burr's truly monumental work, our esteemed editor wished to offset any suspicion on the part of our readers that he, as a patriotic New Jerseyite (or should one say, Jerseyman?), was unduly biased in favor of a work for which he himself was (indirectly, at least) so largely responsible. So this is supposed to represent the unbiased impressions of a reader out in the wide open spaces!

First of all, let me say at the outset that, with the sole exception of Dr. Brydon's two volumes on *Virginia's Mother Church* (the third volume of which we eagerly await), no comparable work on the history of the Church in any of our states or dioceses has yet appeared. Dr. Burr's treatment of the colonial period of our Church in New Jersey is both definitive and exhaustive. Nor is his more sketchy and cursory treatment of the post-Revolutionary history down to the present without relevant value, since it portrays the fruitful harvest of the painful and laborious planting in the days of small beginnings. Again we are reminded of the dictum of Bishop Lightfoot that "history (and especially Church History) is the best cordial for drooping spirits."

Both Dr. Burr and Dr. Stowe take just pride in underlining and emphasizing the influential and vital part which New Jersey played in the founding, growth, and organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. Keith and Talbot left their stamp on New Jersey churchmanship. Chandler and Beach represent the mediatorial position which New Jersey churchmen played between the ultra-rigid churchmanship of New England and the lax churchmanship of the South. One is struck by the strong leaven of Scots and New England converts among the colonial clergy of New Jersey. Churchmen by conviction these, who would not be tempted to barter away either the episcopate or the orthodox doctrinal and pure liturgical heritage of the Church. Yet the geographical position of New Jersey between the larger, more populous colonies of New York and Pennsylvania undoubtedly caused New Jersey churchmen to be less brittle than their Connecticut brethren in their adaptation of the Church's constitution to the new order, while the staunchness of their churchmanship was a

reconciling factor in the winning of Connecticut to the newly constituted American Church.

In his chapters, "The Spirit of Church Life" and "The Church and the People," Dr. Burr has indeed succeeded in writing what Dr. Stowe calls "social history" in the best sense of that term," relating the life of the Church to the conditions of eighteenth century colonial life. Throughout the book we are kept aware of the background of contemporary social, political, and religious movements as they affected and were affected by the S. P. G. missionaries and their flocks. At times Dr. Burr lapses into the vernacular and does not hesitate to use a slang term or phrase to illuminate his narrative—a device which I for one do not find at all displeasing.

The topography and documentation of the book are beyond criticism. The appendices dealing with the historical sketches of the colonial parishes and the clerical biographies are a most interesting and valuable feature. One regrets an occasional typographical error, such as the omission of the second "m" from the word "accomodation" almost every time the word is used. And for this reader, at least, the interest of the book would have been enhanced by the inclusion of a few illustrations, such as pictures of Trinity Cathedral, Newark; Christ Church, New Brunswick; St. Peter's, Perth Amboy; Christ Church, Shrewsbury; and St. Mary's, Burlington—with perhaps the portraits of some of the colonial clergy and churchmen. We are told on p. 593 of the existence of a portrait of Colin Campbell. Are none extant of Keith and Talbot and Innes and Chandler and Beach, not to mention Lord Cornbury, Lewis Morris, and William Franklin?

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*

AN ENGLISH REVIEW

Dr. Burr has made a solid and valuable contribution to the history of the American Church. Pleasing in format, printed in a good clear type, and written in an attractive style, the book is a delight to handle and to read. The story of the Anglican Church in New Jersey is traced from 1664 to the present day.

Of especial interest is the chapter, "Methodism and Its Separation from the Church." Dr. Burr makes it quite clear that whatever John Wesley might say to the contrary, he was responsible for schism:

However strongly he spoke against separation from the Church of England, his actions spoke louder than his words, for, as Lord Mansfield put it, "ordination is separation," and John Wesley, over the strong objections of Charles, proceeded to ordain (p. 332).

Dr. Burr sums up his illuminating account of the "Battle for the Episcopate" (Chapter 15) with the comment:

Indeed, the Church probably gained by the failure to secure bishops before the Revolution. If there had been one, there might have been an irresistible temptation to clothe him with all the objectionable features of the English establishment and make him a state tool (p. 372).

Of especial value is Chapter 16, "The Revolution," with its account of that much tried and admirable priest, Thomas Bradbury Chandler, who nobly served the Church for over thirty years.

The epilogue, "Growth and Progress During a Century and a Half, 1800-1950," is encouraging, and yet more so the record of the growth and progress of the Church today. In spite of two world wars, there are today in the state of New Jersey, with its two dioceses, more communicants than the Episcopal Church had throughout the nation a century before. One out of every forty-eight persons in the civil population is a communicant. A truly remarkable state of affairs. Would to God that it were true of us in England!

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered.
By William White. Edited by Richard G. Salomon. Church
Historical Society Publication No. 39, Philadelphia, 1954. Pp.
78. 50 cents.

The Church Historical Society has done well to issue this reprint of Bishop White's *Case*, first published in 1782—five years before the author became a bishop. Dr. Salomon's Introduction, Notes, and Appendices make this the most thorough and useful edition which has ever appeared.

As is well known, White's pamphlet was issued to deal with an emergency precipitated by the cessation of fighting in 1781 and before it was publicly known that negotiations for peace were underway. White always stoutly maintained that the publication of his pamphlet was predicated on his behalf that Great Britain would never recognize the independence of the American colonies.

The Case, however, contained much that was of permanent value; it contained, to use Dr. Salomon's phrase, "the first draft of the organization of the Church as it is today." It is safe to say also that no other pamphlet of thirty-five pages (the size of the original edition) ever had so much influence in the history of the American Church. An

immediate effect was to stir up the clergy of Connecticut to meet in secret on March 25, 1783, and to elect Samuel Seabury as their bishop.

One question, however, Dr. Salomon's edition does *not* answer: Did White's views concerning episcopacy *per se* undergo any changes during the ensuing years? It was the contention of Bishop William Stevens Perry, historiographer of the American Church (1868-1898),

"That with further study and added years of experience and investigating his views of the obligation of the threefold ministry and the historic Episcopate strengthened, is certain" [W. H. Stowe, ed., *Life and Letters of Bishop White*, p. 79.]

With this contention, the present historiographer, Dr. Stowe, agrees. Further research on this subject, and a definitive exposition, is needed.

We are very grateful to Dr. Salomon and the Church Historical Society for this reprint. It had already appeared in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* for December, 1953. It is a necessary document for the student of American Church history.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

PARISH HISTORIES

Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, Galveston, Texas, 1841-1953: A Memorial History. By William Manning Morgan. Houston and Galveston, The Anson Jones Press, 1954. xxiv., 801 pp., illus. \$15.

After twenty years of research, Mr. Morgan, sometime vestryman of Trinity Church, president of the Rosenberg Library board of trustees, and life member of the Church Historical Society, has issued a history of the parish with which he has been connected since birth. It is a massive book, profusely illustrated with both black and white and colored plates, and it is distinctive in that it was entirely manufactured in Texas.

Trinity Church was founded in 1841 by the Rev. Benjamin Eaton, an Irishman who came to the Republic of Texas from Bishop Jackson Kemper's jurisdiction in Wisconsin. Here he remained until his death in 1871 after having collapsed in the pulpit. Between 1850 and 1900, Galveston in consequence of its superb harbor was the largest city in Texas, and Trinity Church was the largest and most important parish in the state. Connected with it were some of the most substantial capitalists and industrialists in Texas. Mr. Morgan, in part, portrays

the history of Trinity Church in relation to the history of Galveston and Texas. Because of the dominance by the wealthy, Trinity Church was somewhat backward in its development. It was not, for example, until 1921 that the pew system was abandoned and the support of the church placed upon the offerings of the faithful.

Mr. Morgan's book is a substantial contribution not only to the history of Trinity Church, its organizations, and the missions it founded, but also to the biographical history of Galveston. It includes biographical sketches, more or less extended, of the six bishops who have had jurisdiction over Galveston Island, six rectors who have served the parish, twenty-one priests who have assisted or supplied, 184 vestrymen, and 390 persons buried in the Episcopal Cemetery.

Unfortunately, the book is a bit defective on the organization of the parish. Before Eaton's arrival, two attempts had been made to organize a congregation in Galveston. In May, 1839, Bishop Leonidas Polk, then on an episcopal visit to Texas, reported "that a congregation had been formed and a subscription put on foot, to raise funds sufficient to build a church," and during his visit to Galveston he had selected the lot to be donated by the townsite company for a church. Seemingly little if anything came of this organization, and in the following year William Fairfax Gray, of Houston, reported that Galveston had elected a vestry. This, too, was fruitless. Trinity Church dates from Eaton's arrival. On February 6, 1841, at a meeting in the courthouse, those interested in the Church resolved to organize a parish to be known as "The Trinity Church, of Galveston," and they went on to elect as vestrymen George Ball, one Butler, Oscar Farish, J. D. Groesbeeck, Alden A. M. Jackson, Robert Dabney Johnson, Levi Jones, Charles Power, Elisha A. Rhodes, T. Robinson, Robert Rose, J. M. Seymour, Stephen Southwick, S. B. Teats, J. H. Walton, and Andrew Janeway Yates. At the vestry meeting that followed immediately, Yates and Power were elected wardens and Groesbeeck treasurer. On June 20, Eaton and Power contracted with a local builder to construct a church edifice seventy feet long, forty wide, and twenty-four high at a cost of about \$4400. Power, an English merchant in Galveston, agreed to supply all of the building materials at cost and to provide credit for a year or two. Construction was formally begun on August 10, when, during an elaborate ceremony, Eaton erected a corner. Hardly had the building got under way than Eaton confessed that he was uneasy about it and requested that it be insured. His uneasiness was well founded, for not long after the church was opened on June 26, 1842, it was blown down by the hurricane of September 19.

The need for a resident bishop in Texas was obvious as early as the 1840s. In the summer of 1841, a number of petitions was sent to the General Convention and the Board of Missions praying that a bishop be appointed. The citizens of Matagorda requested the appointment of the Rev. Caleb S. Ives of that place, and those of Galveston asked the appointment of Eaton. The latter appeal was buttressed by a petition from President Mirabeau B. Lamar, four of his cabinet, and the late minister of Mexico. Eaton's chances to be elected bishop were

effectively blocked by Bishop Kemper's opinion that "Mr. Eaton has not the learning necessary for a Bishop." Texas had no resident bishop until 1859.

In large part, the body of Mr. Morgan's history is a catena of quotations, many of them of great length, with little connecting material and virtually no interpretation. For example, the author quotes at considerable length (pp. 84-86) from the minutes of the vestry and the diary of Henry Rosenberg about a full dressed squabble between the vestry and the second rector, the Rev. Stephen Moylan Bird, but he completely fails to indicate what the quarrel was about. The late Rev. Thomas Jefferson Windham, who as a layman was long connected with Trinity Church, informed the reviewer that the controversy was over churchmanship. As a result of the Rev. James De Koven's impassioned speech before the General Convention of 1874, Doctor Bird not only became a Tractarian but a ritualist as well. Eaton had been, and Bishop Alexander Gregg was, a high churchman, but Doctor Bird was the first clerical ritualist in the state. Like many another millionaire, Rosenberg felt himself the ultimate authority on whatever subject he happened to be speaking at the moment, and when Doctor Bird declined to place the same value on Rosenberg's opinions on varying altitudes of churchmanship as Rosenberg himself, the capitalist grew bitter and vindictive. In a passage quoted by Mr. Morgan, Rosenberg disrespectfully referred to his pastor as "Longtailed Ring Master." Subsequently, Rosenberg supported Grace Church, and in his will provided a church building for that parish. The Rev. Mr. Windham fervently maintained that Rosenberg's spite against Doctor Bird was responsible for Grace Church's unhealthiness during the first four decades of the twentieth century.

Unfortunately, the book is marred by numerous typographical errors that might have been corrected by more careful proofreading. In addition, there are errors of fact. For example, the younger Rev. Stephen Moylan Bird, made deacon in 1903, could hardly have been presented for ordination to the diaconate by his father (as stated on p. 182), who had died in 1894.

The book might have been made shorter, and therefore less expensive, at the sacrifice of no material, by a rigorous elimination of the very numerous repetitions that appear, especially in the biographical sketches. The reviewer must question the taste of the author in wondering about the juxtaposition of two purchases in a cash statement, communion wine and turpentine, "whether they were to be combined in a mixture" (p. 112).

Doctor Mortimer's expensively illustrated history of St. Mark's Church, Philadelphia, can be justified on the grounds of the sublime beauty and great artistic and monetary value of the ecclesiastical objects he reproduced in colored plates, but the reviewer questions Mr. Morgan's reproduction in color of Trinity Church's windows. Undeniably they have great sentimental and associational value to the members of the parish, but, with the exception of two or three, they are deplorable examples of stained glass, where indeed they are not art glass. One

must admit, though, that the colored plates, in almost every instance, are superior to the windows themselves.

Despite these minor criticisms, the book advances the historiography of both the Church and Galveston.

ANDREW FOREST MUIR

Houston, Texas.

A History of Christ Church, Quaker Farms in Oxford, Connecticut,
By Norman Litchfield. Lithoprinted by Edwards Bros., Inc., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1954. Pp. xi, 200.

Mr. Litchfield has performed a labor of love which at the same time is a worthy and distinctive contribution to the archives of the diocese of Connecticut and a delightful addition to the ever increasing number of parish histories which have appeared in recent years.

Quaker Farms is a lovely rural community in the town of Oxford, untouched and unspoiled by the industrialization of nearby towns and cities. Its exquisite wooden church, built in the Wren tradition with tower, belfry, and false lantern, was completed in 1813 and consecrated by Bishop Hobart of New York in 1817, during a vacancy in the see of Connecticut. It has been pronounced one of the six most interesting churches in Connecticut by J. Frederick Kelly, author of *Early Connecticut Meeting Houses*.

Mr. Litchfield sets his history on the background of the early settlement of Connecticut and of the town of Oxford. To the Rev. Richard Mansfield, one of the early Yale converts to Anglicanism, was due the beginning of the services of the Church of England in strongly Congregational Oxford as early as 1760. How the Church in Connecticut weathered the Revolution and completed its organization with the election of Samuel Seabury, how the Episcopalians of Quaker Farms built a chapel of their own (a true community church from that day to this), and the annals of the numerous clergy and lay readers who have served this little parish through the years, jointly for the most part with St. Peter's, Oxford—all this is set forth with full documentation. We trace the loyalty of certain old families from generation to generation, and we see the parish assimilating into its life later arrivals, including a little colony of Norwegian-Americans. We note that women have served on the vestry since 1933. We smile when we read that the parish meeting of 1822 voted to ask the contemporary incumbent to "write out all his Sunday sermons!" We chuckle at the clergyman who solemnly recorded his fees with each marriage entry in the parish register (one was recorded \$0.00!). In 1922, the receipts of the previous year were reported as over \$1200. Is there unconscious humor in the author's statement two pages further on—"In 1930 there was

apparently no Priest in charge and by that year the receipts had increased to nearly \$2000.00?"

The book is attractively bound and gotten up, though unfortunately there are numerous typographical errors. There are excellent illustrations and facsimiles of early documents. And there are several appendices which deal with such matters as "Church Membership" (that is, voting membership according to the Connecticut canon), the Pipe Organ, the Community Hall, the Cemeteries, the Church School, the Clergy, Music, the Ladies Society, and "the Tradition of the Part Rum Played in the Starting of the Church." If this last arouses your curiosity, you will have to buy the book—which you can probably do for \$2.00 or \$2.25. A rare two dollars' worth of charming Connecticut lore for the discriminating reader.

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*

A History and Guide to Grace Cathedral, Topeka, Kansas. By John Warren Day. Cathedral, 1953. 117 pp.

The "Guide", in which the cathedral appointments are fully described and excellently illustrated, fills the greater part of this book. The history is related briefly but adequately. Grace Mission was started by the first regular missionary to Kansas, the Rev. Charles M. Callaway, in 1857. The mission was incorporated as a parish in 1860. The parish was accepted as a cathedral at the diocesan convention of 1879 under Bishop Vail. The present building was begun in 1909 during the episcopate of Bishop Millsaugh.

WILLIAM WILSON MANROSS.

*Library,
Church Historical Society,
Philadelphia.*

The Old Dutch Burying Ground of Sleepy Hollow in North Tarrytown, New York. By William Graves Perry. The Rand Press, Boston, 1953. 175 pp.

This is a collection of inscriptions from tombstones, copied with painstaking care. Its principal value is to the genealogist, but some of the inscriptions may appeal to the growing body of collectors of such literary curiosia. Most of the epitaphs were evidently copied from the

collections kept at hand by stonecutters. One of the most popular seems to have been:

"Afflictions sore I oft times bore;
Physicians were in vain;
Till death did cease and God did please
To ease me of my pain."

The simple, if theologically unsound, wish, "I want to be an archangel," sounds as though it may have been a quotation from the three-year-old on whose tomb it appears.

WILLIAM WILSON MANROSS.

In the City and in the Field. The History of Christ Church Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, New York, 1853-1953. By Sarah Mary Wilson Huntley. Rudisill and Co., Lancaster, Pa., 1953. xix, 277 pp.

This superior parish history describes fully the hundred-year life of Christ Church Bay Ridge, founded in the same year that the then semi-rural community adopted the name by which it is still known, though now a part of the populous Borough of Brooklyn in New York City. The book is admirably printed and copiously illustrated.

WILLIAM WILSON MANROSS.

AMONG OUR CONTEMPORARIES

Edited by DuBOISE MURPHY, *Associate Editor*

Mr. GEORGE W. WILLIAMS, parish historiographer of St. Michael's Church, Charleston, South Carolina, has continued his studies in the history of Church music in Charleston. Two articles from his pen appeared in the *Journal* of the American Musicological Society, Spring, 1954: "Charleston Church Music, 1562-1833" and "Jacob Eckhard and his Choirmaster's Book." The colonists who settled in South Carolina "produced in the eighteenth century a secular music unequalled in America" and extended their interest into Church music as well. The church organist became an important person in the community and exercised a wide influence through his teaching and leadership. The Anglican Church took the lead but was closely followed by Presbyterians and Lutherans. One of the most notable of many organists was Jacob Eckhard, who served in St. Michael's from 1809-1833. He edited and published a *Choral Book*, which was used by the choir of St. Michael's and influenced the early *Hymnal* of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The *Canadian Historical Review*, September, 1954, contains an article by H. H. WALSH on "Research in Canadian Church History" (pp. 208-216). Except for some denominational histories and a few biographical sketches, there has been little serious study of religious development in Canada. Sociologists have contributed more than historians to our knowledge of Church history north of the border. At present, most of the source material is widely scattered but some progress has been made by the publication of lists of denominational periodicals, newspapers and other printed matter. One significant feature of Canadian culture is found in its combination of English and French elements. "How this came about is the story of a religious as well as a political adjustment which requires the pen of a historian thoroughly familiar with the religious development of both Protestant and Catholic Canada."

W. ROBERT INSKO has contributed an article on "The Kentucky Seminary" to the *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, July, 1954, pp. 213-232. The recent reactivation of the Episcopal Theological Seminary of Kentucky makes it appropriate that we should learn more about the original foundation of that institution. The Rt. Rev. Benjamin Bosworth Smith was actively interested in all kinds of education (see *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, June, 1953.) Early in 1832, before his consecration as bishop of Kentucky, he announced a plan to establish a fund for theological education, to assist students. Two years later he moved ahead to the idea of a seminary. The legislature of Kentucky granted a charter, and a large house and lot in Lexington were purchased. The Rev. Henry Caswall became professor of sacred literature while Bishop Smith served as rector of the seminary. The school made an auspicious beginning and seemed to be flourishing, but its active life was ended by the controversy between the diocese and Bishop Smith, with the resulting ecclesiastical trial; and the financial troubles of 1837 prevented a resurrection. For a short time, after 1840, the seminary operated as a department of Shelby College in Shelbyville. The seminary continued a nominal existence, being mentioned from time to time in the *Journal* of the diocese of Kentucky. At last, in 1951, the present bishop of Lexington, the Rt. Rev. William R. Moody, took steps to reopen the institution.

In the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September, 1954, pp. 197-218, there is an article by RALPH E. MORROW on "Northern Methodism in the South during Reconstruction." It will be recalled that in 1865 Bishop Stephen Elliott of Georgia expressed the fear that the Northern dioceses of the Protestant Episcopal Church might send missionaries into the Southern states (*HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, December, 1948, p. 437.) Leaders in the Methodist Episcopal Church in the North not only publicly supported the Union cause during the Civil War but also viewed the surrender of the Confederacy as an opportunity for aggressive missionary effort. The Methodist Church came into the South closely allied with the agencies of Reconstruction and threw

its influence upon the side of the radical, congressional policy. Although there was some talk of reunion between the Northern and Southern Methodist Churches, it soon became evident that the Southern members would be a feeble minority. Efforts were made to win over the freedmen, but the Negroes themselves were not always responsive, and in many places the African Methodist Church grew at the expense of its white rivals. In the controversy between Congress and President Johnson, Northern Methodists openly supported congressional policy and took an active part in the affairs of the Southern states. The results of this activity served to injure the prestige of the Church and to weaken its influence.

The William and Mary Quarterly, July, 1954, pp. 424-433, published an article by JORDAN D. FIORE on "Jonathan Swift and the American Episcopate." While still rector of an Irish parish in 1705, Swift was introduced to Col. Robert Hunter by his friend Joseph Addison. When Hunter was appointed lieutenant-governor of Virginia in 1707, Swift hoped that this would prepare the way for his own appointment as bishop for the colony. Unfortunately, Hunter was captured by the French while en route to Virginia and was held in Paris for two years. During this period, Swift wrote several times to Hunter frankly expressing his desire for this ecclesiastical preferment. After Hunter was exchanged and returned to England, he was appointed governor of New York and New Jersey. In this position he cooperated with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in planning the establishment of a bishopric in the new world. But Swift seemed to have lost interest in this proposal and gratefully received appointment as dean of Dublin. The death of Queen Anne and the accession of the Hanoverian King George I served to push into the background all plans for establishing an American episcopate.

II. English and General Church History

The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854-1874: Twenty Critical Years. By Ralph S. Kuykendall. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1954. x, 310 pp., illus. \$5.

After an interval of fifteen years, Mr. Kuykendall, retired professor of history in the University of Hawaii, has published the second of a contemplated three volume work on the history of Hawaii before its admission into the United States. The present volume treats the crucial reigns of Kamehameha IV and V and Lunalilo. During the twenty year period under survey, the kingdom attained a considerable degree of political maturity, and its economy shifted from dependence on the whaling trade to the beginning of widespread sugar planting.

Some fifteen pages of text and three pages of notes are devoted to the introduction of the Church of England into the islands during the reign of Kamehameha IV (pp. 84-99, 275-78). This account is an improved version of Mr. Kuykendall's essay, "Introduction of the Episcopal Church into the Hawaiian Islands," that appeared in the *Pacific Historical Review*, XV (June, 1946), 133-46. Among the splendid illustrations included within this work are portraits of King Kamehameha, Queen Emma, and Bishop Staley and a view of St. Andrew's Pro-Cathedral.

Mr. Kuykendall's treatment of the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church is confined substantially to its introduction into Hawaii. He traces the motivations of Kamehameha and his trusted foreign minister, the one repentant after having shot his secretary and the other prostrated by a serious illness, in asking for a mission from England, the protracted negotiations that led to the consecration of Thomas Nettleship Staley as bishop of Honolulu, and the beginnings of the Church on Oahu, Maui, Kauai, and Hawaii. Unlike most accounts of Bishop Staley, including those by Henry Bond Restarick, the first American bishop of Honolulu, Mr. Kuykendall's statement is scrupulously fair to Staley and his associates. There is in it none of the Puritanical special pleading that mars Rufus Anderson's and Bishop Restarick's writings.

The author's inferences and conclusions are eminently sound. For example, he properly criticizes Bishop William Ingraham Kip's claim, which appeared in 1866, that the Hawaiian mission had been "inaugurated at the request of an American Bishop" (p. 88). As both Manley Hopkins, consul general of Hawaii in London, and the Rev. William Denton, member of the Committee for Promoting the English Church in Polynesia, pointed out, the project was well under way before Kip's visit to England during the summer of 1860 (*John Bull*, XLVIII, August 8, 1868, p. 539, cols. 1-2). Also, he realizes the error into which the Hawaiian foreign minister fell when he referred to the bishop of Exeter as the prelate who suggested that a bishop and staff in place of a single priest should be sent to Hawaii (p. 89). The error possibly came about as a result of the minister's misreading Samuel Wilberforce's signature of "S Oxon," or of incorrectly identifying the abbreviation of the see as that for Exeter rather than Oxford. Readers of John W. Burgon's essay on Wilberforce in his brilliant *Lives of Twelve Good Men* (London: John Murray, 1891, pp. 242-78) will remember that Wilberforce not only wrote letters in the House of Lords and on railroad trains but that he also so utilized his time when he was bouncing about in stage coaches. Some of his letters have probably never been deciphered, not even by those to whom they had been addressed.

A few minor errors and misstatements ought to be noted. Mr. Kuykendall's reference to a "convocation of high dignitaries of the Church of England" (p. 91) is a curious way of referring to the Convocation of Canterbury. The English legislature in 1861 as in 1954 was made up of three distinctive bodies: Parliament, the Convocation of Canterbury, and the Convocation of York, and it was in the second

of these that Bishop Wilberforce spoke of Kamehameha's application. The reference to Archbishop Sumner's denial in 1860 that he had heard of the plan to send a mission to Hawaii (p. 93), despite the fact that the foreign minister had addressed him a long letter and that Hopkins had discussed the matter with him, should have been tempered with recognition that Sumner was then an old man in his eighties who had recently suffered a severe family affliction and was indeed in an advanced stage of decay. It might have been pointed out, also, that though M. Kekuanaoa, the king's father, was an early member of the Hawaiian synod (p. 96), he was never a communicant of the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church. In 1825 he had been baptized by an Anglican priest and so might have been regarded as an Anglican, but throughout the 1860s he was a Congregationalist and as such he died. Mr. Kuykendall is mistaken in writing that it "is uncertain whether the king wrote personally to Hopkins" in reference to the request for a mission (pp. 275-76, note 57). In dispatch No. 3, dated March 13, 1860, the foreign minister wrote Hopkins, "You will receive herewith . . . [a] sealed letter to yourself of His Majesty the King" (Foreign Office Books, MSS. in Archives of Hawaii, Honolulu, XXXIII, 66).

Churchmen and historians should be grateful to Mr. Kuykendall for his analytical and well tempered statement on what heretofore has been a controversial segment of Anglican history.

ANDREW FOREST MUIR.

Houston, Texas.

Anglican Ways: A Manual on Liturgical Music for Episcopal Choirmasters. By Everett Titcomb. New York, The H. W. Gray Co., 1954. Pp. 45. \$2.00.

This useful little book is far more valuable than its brevity might seem to indicate. Written by the distinguished organist and choirmaster of the Church of St. John the Evangelist in Boston, Massachusetts, it should be read and heeded by every parish priest and choirmaster in the Episcopal Church. While there is nothing new in it, there is a very great deal that is unknown or disregarded by the average clergyman and Church musician. Everyone who is charged with the important responsibility of planning and carrying out the Church's round of services should be thoroughly familiar with all of the material in this book. He may not be called upon to use all of it, but it should be at his finger tips in case he is.

The ordering of all of the regular and occasional services in the Prayer Book for which music may be required (except Ordinations and Consecrations) is considered, and the correct usage indicated, whether parochial custom demands simple, moderate, or elaborate means. There are short explanations of Plainsong and Polyphony. The cus-

toms and regulations connected with the Church's seasons and festivals (some of them outside the scope of our authorized formularies) are described and suggestions made for their observance.

But above all, the point of view expressed in the following brief sentences should be noted and adopted as a model for all to follow:

"Liturgical music is that composed specifically for the Liturgy. Its sole purpose is to emphasize the meaning and to enhance the beauty of the words. Its object is not merely to please the listener but to lead the thoughts of the worshipper toward God."

HERBERT BOYCE SATCHER.

*St. Aidan's Rectory,
Cheltenham, Philadelphia.*

English Medieval Castles. By R. Allen Brown. London, B. T. Batsford, Ltd. 1954. 16s net.

This delightfully written, attractively produced, and well illustrated book is valuable to a clearer understanding of the social life of Great Britain in the Middle Ages. A well provisioned and well garrisoned castle often proved its worth in keeping the peace in a rough and restless age, as their builders well knew.

Edward I (1239-1307), king of England (1272-1307), kept his Welsh subjects in hand by the building of eight castles, among which were Harlech, Beaumaris, Carnarvon, and Conway, at a cost it has been estimated of no less than £80,000. Detailed accounts relating to the building of Edward's castles in Wales are in existence, and from them some remarkable facts and figures may be gathered.

Wages account for some two-thirds of the total cost of the work, which was largely seasonal. A very large number of men was employed. At Harlech, in the summer of 1286, an average weekly number of nearly 1,000 men was working. In the seasons, 1285-87, at Conway, Carnarvon and Harlech, some 2,500 were employed each week. At Beaumaris, in the summer of 1295, about 3,500 men were at work. The men came from all over England, the population of which at that time was only from three to four millions. They were "impressed" for the royal service, a method of providing labor which greatly aided the royal projects in building, and greatly hindered the private projects of the king's subjects.

These few facts, gathered from a store of much that is valuable and illuminating, will show something of the reader's debt to Dr. Brown for a volume of unusual interest.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

Early Christianity: The Purpose of Acts and Other Papers. By Burton Scott Easton. Edited by Frederick C. Grant. Greenwich: The Seabury Press. 158 pp. Price \$3.50.

The main section of this book, Part II, "The Purpose of Acts," is a reprint of the Reinicke Lectures, delivered at the Virginia Theological Seminary in 1935, and first published by SPCK. For a number of years the book has been out of print. We are greatly indebted to the editor and publishers for once more making it available, for it is one of the best introductions to the study of Acts to be found anywhere. It does not deal with the technical problems to be found in any text-book, but it gives a clear insight into the whole spirit and point-of-view with which St. Luke approached his task of showing why Christianity ought to be considered by the authorities a "licensed religion."

Part II is preceded by a brief survey, by the editor, of the life of Burton Scott Easton, one of the greatest New Testament scholars and one of the most inspiring teachers the American Church has produced.

Part III, "Papers on Early Christianity," contains three short articles from the *Anglican Theological Review* on "The Church in the New Testament," "Jewish and Early Christian Ordination," and "Authority and Liberty." The whole book should be read by every seminary student, and re-read and meditated upon by those who may have seen the material previously. Such an exercise—particularly the last essay—should be of inestimable benefit to those who still confuse the central truths of the Christian Faith with certain interpretations of that Faith, and who insist that the Bible *must* support that interpretation.

It would be helpful in making the book more available if the publishers could find a way to reduce the price.

E. J. COOK.

*Berkeley Divinity School,
New Haven, Connecticut.*

Jesus and His Ministry. By Wallace Eugene Rollins and Marion Benedict Rollins. Greenwich: The Seabury Press, 1954. xvi, 299 pp. Price \$4.00.

Although it has been frequently said that it is impossible to write a "life" of Jesus since we have neither sufficient source-material nor a point of view from which properly to regard Him, yet the attempts continue. And necessarily so! Anyone who is sufficiently master of the available material, who believes that he has grasped something of the significance of one of the greatest figures of history—to put the matter in its lowest terms—and who thinks that he can paint a portrait, always

aware of his inability to produce a definitive picture, has a right and duty to do so. The authors of this book certainly fulfill these requirements. Both have been successful teachers of the New Testament over a number of years, and know at least a large portion of the relevant literature. To attempt to cite everything possible in a work of this kind would be unnecessary.

Roughly speaking—leaving out of the question those “sentimental lives” which have nothing to commend them except the writer’s eagerness to produce a book—there are three kinds of “lives” of Jesus: the traditional, which attempts merely to combine the gospel accounts into a connected whole; the critical, which, using all the results of modern criticism, produces what purports to be the biography of a great, perhaps God-inspired, *man*, whom a succession of followers has made into something more than human; and the critical, which, using the same methods, is written from the standpoint that Jesus cannot be judged by the same standards which are applied to other men, since He was both Son of God and Son of Man.

Prof. and Mrs. Rollins’ book falls into the last category. It is a difficult task, one in which they have succeeded admirably, but for which they will be adversely criticized on two sides. Some will say that they are too “orthodox”; others that they are too “liberal.” A good case in point is the treatment of miracles in Chapter VIII, where use is made of the methods of Form-criticism, although the term is not used (cf. pp. 145ff). The question, “What did Jesus do?,” cannot be answered simply. It is always combined with the ethical question, “What *would* Jesus do?,” or the scientific question, “What *could* Jesus do?” (p. 131).

To the first the answer is, “Any act that would make men marvel without making them repent had no place in Jesus’ conception of his own mission” (p. 133). All Jesus’ words and deeds are meant to reveal the character of God, Whose “power is linked with beneficence . . . He does not fail man, and so man can expect that natural phenomena will be dependable and also that there will be special divine action to meet any special need” (p. 142). In view of this then, the answer to second question is, “It seems most fruitful for an understanding of Jesus to cherish that awed sense of his uniqueness which permeates the accounts of his mighty works, but to keep in mind his rejection or morally irrelevant ‘power.’ Certain considerations easily prevent our having to think of him as literally multiplying loaves and fishes or commanding winds and waves to subside, yet allow us to find meaning in the stories in which these factors appear” (p. 144). This will be too much for some, and too little for others.

The authors have given reverent and beautiful treatment to the “Life.” It is a book which can be read with profit by anyone, but, as they themselves say, it requires supplementing. For the scholar, or would-be scholar in the seminary, it is hardly technical enough; for the layman, even the “intelligent” one, it takes for granted information which in this age of specialization he is not likely to possess. More precise definition of certain terms in some cases would be desirable, as well as more information concerning the political and religious back-

ground. Since this may well have been impossible within the limits imposed, a list of a few important and readily accessible books would have been desirable. The long list of "Books and Articles Cited" is good, but it would be merely confusing to the non-specialist.

Anyway, it is a good book!

E. J. COOK.

*Berkeley Divinity School,
New Haven, Connecticut.*

Jesus and His Times. By Daniel-Rops. Translated from the French by Ruby Millar. New York: Dutton, 1954. 615pp. Price \$5.00.

It is said on the jacket that this book is in its 400th edition (probably "printing") in France, and its appearance in English marks the fifteenth language into which it has been translated. The author, a Roman Catholic, has obviously written from the "traditional" point of view.

All four gospels are treated as of equal value as sources, and are to be taken as they stand. Although he seems to be aware of controversy over the authorship, the writer holds to the position that they were written by the men whose names they bear. The Apostle Matthew wrote the First Gospel in Aramaic; for a time it "was circulated zealously among the Christian communities and each one, as Papius adds, 'translated it to the best of their ability.' The time came when the Church wished to codify these translations and thus we have the official Greek version, made very probably by the author himself. This version would be enlarged and completed since by this time two other Gospels, Mark and Luke, had appeared" (p. 47). The Fourth Gospel is by the Apostle John. The difference in style between it and Revelation is noted, and it said, "The possible employment of a secretary is certainly one explanation" (p. 60).

There is no question about the point of view from which the book is written. "Jesus was divine" (p. 209). He also knew himself to be the Messiah, consciousness of which "is clearly apparent from the very beginning of his mission" (p. 326). "Son of Man" is another way of saying "Messiah" (p. 328). At the same time, Jesus was truly man. The relation between the two natures is a "mystery," but "we may imagine the divinity of Jesus as a force of which he, the man, was fully aware, which sustained him and lifted him beyond himself in the great undertakings of his mission . . ." (p. 335). The following, "The miracles of Jesus thus appeared as direct manifestations of the creative power of God," and "A Messiah endowed with such power that he could suspend the laws of nature . . ." (p. 406f) indicate the writer's view of the miracles recounted in the four Gospels. They are to be taken literally as they stand.

There is no appended bibliography, and few references are made to other writings.

Taking the above considerations into account, the book may be read with profit. It is well written, and, except for a few slips, well translated. With no pious sentimentality, it is probably as "liberal" in its outlook as one could expect from a member of the writer's communion, and it is a book which throws a good deal of light on the political, economic and religious situation of the times.

E. J. COOK.

*Berkeley Divinity School,
New Haven, Connecticut.*

A Concise History of the Law of Nations. By Arthur Nussbaum.
Revised edition. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1954.
\$5.00.

In this new edition of his earlier treatise, Professor Nussbaum takes us from the earliest known treaty in 3100 B. C., to the United Nations, from the Ancient Orient and Rome through the period of ecclesiastical influence and emphasis on natural law to the age of positivism and back to the present increasing realization of a higher law, whether the approach be philosophical or as a concept of God as the source of law. In this course, the influence of Grotius, Vitoria, Suarez, Pufendorf and others is weighed, and the learned author concludes with a belief that the nations will eventually cooperate for peace. Two appendices are added, one a survey of the historiography of international law, and the other a criticism of Professor Scott's tribute to the Spanish School and "deprecating attitude against Protestantism." At the same time, Professor Nussbaum recognizes that "the Catholic Church alone has a comprehensive and elaborate system of natural law grown since the Middle Ages and widely cultivated in our day by Catholic institutions and authors," saying, parenthetically, that "there is no comparable Protestant law of nature."

JACKSON A. DYKMAN.

Brooklyn, New York.

III. Theology and Philosophy

Morals and Medicine. By Joseph Fletcher. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1954. Pp. xvii 243. \$4.50.

Morals and Medicine is in substance the material prepared by Dr. Fletcher in 1949 for the Lowell Lectures at Harvard. The author is professor of pastoral theology and Christian ethics at the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Dr. Fletcher analyzes five practical problems in the ethics of medical practice: (1) the right of the patient to know the truth; (2) the right to control parenthood by contraception; (3) the right to over-

come childlessness by artificial insemination; (4) the right to foreclose parenthood by sterilization; and (5) the right to die by euthanasia. He states his aim in this fashion:

"We believe we can show, at the very least, that any absolute prohibition of these boons of medicine is morally unjustified, subversive of human dignity, and, most serious of all, spiritually oppressive."

The author is very positive and uncompromising about the right of the patient to know the truth. Claiming that our moral stature is in proportion to our responsibility, he says we cannot act responsibly without the fullest knowledge. He admits the exception of the psychiatric patient who cannot assimilate facts. To most physicians the telling of the truth to a patient must be tempered by mercy and compassion. The physician-patient relationship is a very complicated one, and there are times when the whole unvarnished truth may prevent the achievement of the highest ideals of medical practice. It must be admitted, however, that the physician rightfully owes the patient the facts he has learned as much as he owes him his skills and techniques.

His defense of contraception will be reasonable to most people. With the medical techniques of contraception, parenthood and birth become matters of moral responsibility, of intelligent choice. With Clarence Senior he says, "Presumably God gave men both sexual organs and intelligence. The latter should be used at least as often as the former."

Artificial insemination utilizing a donor other than the husband (A. I. D.) comes in for most of the discussion about the moral status of insemination. Insemination from the husband (A. I. H.) is acceptable to most people, and little need be said about its moral status. Insemination from a donor other than the husband is another thing and meets with many objections. Legal indecision on the principle involved is very confusing. For example, many states have refused to make A. I. D. children legitimate. Our present knowledge of the mental and emotional factors involved in A. I. D. and of its effects upon the persons involved is very limited. The possibility of incest and unmarried motherhood without committing adultery being increased by A. I. D. have not been explored. Nevertheless, the author convincingly develops the view that it is morally lawful, at the same time admitting that present legal, psychological and social barriers make it inexpedient. The religious objection that A. I. D. is adultery is denied by the author, quoting specific Biblical references to support his view.

There is a survey of the many therapeutic, eugenic and punitive aspects of sterilization. Regretting that the law, which will not permit insane or otherwise persons to adopt a child, at the same time will permit them to conceive and bring forth a child, Dr. Fletcher states that there is no Christian doctrine anywhere which supports the prohibition of sterilization for any reason whatsoever. There is no doubt of the moral status of the unavoidable sterilization resulting from the

surgical removal of diseased reproductive organs. Even St. Thomas Aquinas held that "a part may be sacrificed to save the whole." The same should be true of sterilization, where pregnancy would mean death. Punitive sterilization of criminals is disapproved everywhere. Dr. Fletcher is not impressed with the dictum of the divine right of parenthood, thinking that it should be replaced by the divine right of the child to be born in freedom from disease and defect.

On the subject of merciful release from incurable suffering, the author limits his discussion to voluntary euthanasia, chosen by the victim. Jonathan Swift, after a creative life, took eight years to die while his mind crumbled to pieces and his brain rotted. Terminal convulsions lasted for thirty-six hours, while his physician stood by helpless, with no freedom to act. Dr. Fletcher thinks that "To prolong life uselessly, while the personal qualities of freedom, knowledge, self-possession and control, and responsibility are sacrificed is to attack the moral status of a person." He argues strongly for voluntary euthanasia claiming that we have a right to choose either an agonizing or peaceful death, the right to meet death in personal integrity or in personal disintegration. He says little about the meaning and value of suffering in the Christian life, and how God can use it or redeem it. Many will still feel that euthanasia is suicide on the part of the patient, and murder on the part of the physician who administers it. Many of us have been uplifted and inspired by the calm, trusting bravery of real Christians in the throes of agonizing terminal illness.

Through all his arguments, Dr. Fletcher emphasizes the conception that morality is a dynamic affair—"morality (is) a process rather than a given quantity; never is the ideal of what is good and what is right once for all delivered to the saints." His scholarly presentation of the problems of morals in relation to medicine is an effective counterbalance to the extensive Roman Catholic writings on the subject. It is helpful and thought-provoking to have both points of view available.

RONALD L. JARDINE, M. D.*

Williamsport, Pennsylvania.

*Dr. Jardine is a practicing physician and an active churchman in the Diocese of Harrisburg. He was a deputy from that diocese to the General Conventions of 1949 and 1952.—*Editor's note.*

The Symbols of Religious Faith. By Ben Kimpel. New York, Philosophical Library, 1954. \$3.75.

The purpose of this book is, first, the understanding of the fundamental nature of religion, and second, the presenting of the metaphysical implications of religion so conceived. The title of the book, *Symbols of Religious Faith*, and the long discussion of symbols at the conclusion of the volume would seem to indicate that the work is one dealing with the metaphysics of symbols. As a matter of fact, however, the work

is only secondarily about symbols; its primary purpose is the definition of religion. Symbols are defined only as a means of apprehending the transcendent object of religious faith.

Professor Kimpel's definition is not the result of empirical observation; it is an assumption which is justified by the examination of actual religions. For him religion is *an acknowledged dependence upon a reality regarded as ultimate*. This definition is not that of the anthropologists dealing with religion—although he thinks it is empirically justified. It is derived from the German value theology. He is in the tradition of Schleiermacher, Otto and Wobbermin. The definition is itself a modification of Schleiermacher's *religion as the feeling of absolute dependence*. In Kimpel's definition, however, the whole psychic life takes the place of feeling.

Like Schleiermacher, Kimpel also makes religion metaphysical; but he uses another metaphysical method. He uses the method of apprehending ultimate reality by means of symbols. The symbols, however, are never essential symbols; they are mere symbols, mere signs. At times he seems to think that we apprehend reality without symbols and then use symbols to remind ourselves of the reality directly perceived. His basic doctrine, however, is that the symbols are the means of knowing reality, yet the symbols are mere signs.

The doctrine that symbols are mere signs destroys the doctrine of analogy which he uses to explain signs. From Plato and Aristotle through the Fathers of the Church, the doctrine of symbols rests on a sacramental conception of the universe. The lower order expresses the higher order because the lower order participates in the higher order. A Zwinglian theory of signs cannot help us understand the universe. Kimpel makes symbols the means of understanding reality, and then divorces them from reality. There is no hint in his thinking that the universe is itself sacramental, that the universe is itself symbolic. However, only in a sacramental universe can we know God; thus only does God reveal himself to us. Even in the incarnation, very God is revealed in very man. "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him" (Jn. 1. 18).

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

The University of the South.

Go Preach! Edited by Theodore O. Wedel and George W. R. MacCray. Greenwich, Connecticut, The Seabury Press, 1954, \$3.50.

This is a volume of thirty sermons for the laity, with a Foreword by the Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill. The sermons are selected from those which have been supplied to lay readers by the Presiding Bishop's Committee on Laymen's Work. In this printed form, the sermons will get into the hands of many who are not subscribers to the lay reader's service, and may be profitably read by people who do not find it possible to attend Church services.

Such volumes of sermons are also useful material for the historian who is seeking to learn what themes are winning the attention of the Church in the period of publication. Some years ago the reviewer was impressed by the numerous "remarks" which were appended to parochial reports; they were a valuable reflection of the minds of the clergy. In the case of the present volume, however, the twenty-first century researcher may be led to think that the year 1954 was being observed as a "Marian Year" by the Protestant Episcopal Church as well as by Rome, since the Rev. Dr. Theodore P. Ferris consistently capitalizes the pronouns (She, Her) referring to the Virgin Mary.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

*Christ Church Rectory,
Tuscaloosa, Alabama.*

The Adventure of Life: The Things that Everyone over Fourteen Should Know. By "The Skipper." Wallington, Surrey, Carwal, Ltd., 1954. 1/6d net, plus postage 2d.

This little volume contains a great deal of sensible and wholesome advice on a wide range of subjects: religion, sport, money, and other matters which concern all of us in the human adventure.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

The Hope of Our Calling. By H. G. G. Herklots. Greenwich, Conn., The Seabury Press, 1954. \$1.75.

These studies were originally prepared for the summer school of the Church Missionary Society at Ripon (England) in 1953. They are based upon Bible readings, carefully selected and arranged for devotional use. The theme of hope is developed, from the earliest portions of the Old Testament on down to the Christian hope in the Gospels and S. Paul. There are stimulating questions for discussion or meditation, and suggestions for further reading.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

Living the More Abundant Life. By Pearl Iva Turner. Boston, The Christopher Publishing House, 1954. \$2.00.

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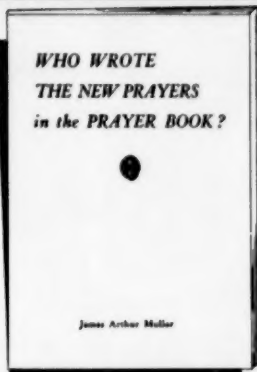
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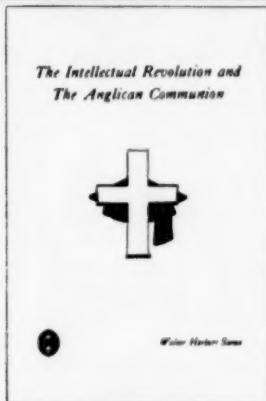
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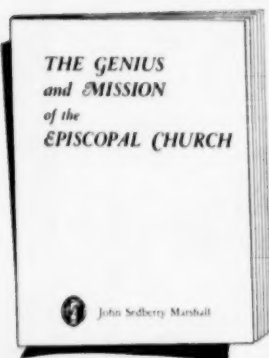
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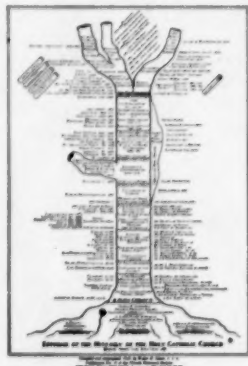
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